

CLASS, RACE AND LOCUS OF CONTROL IN DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Abstract

Rotter's (1966) locus of control (LOC) is, fundamentally, a theory pertaining to individuals' perceptions of personal control and their appraisal of the contingency of reinforcements in life. An individual may feel as though he/ she has either no control (*external* LOC) or ample control (*internal* LOC) over reinforcements. Due to its expediency, the locus of control construct has garnered much attention since it was first introduced to academia in the late 1960s. While originally positioned within Social Learning Theory, the notion of loci of control has since been appropriated into academic fields such as Medicine and Sociology. This particular study now brings the theory of LOC into the realm of Political Science.

Employing World Values Survey (WVS) data collected over three time points (1995, 2001, and 2006) in South Africa; this longitudinal study establishes whether or not self-reported class and/ or race influence LOC by measuring the relationship between these three variables. The extent to which any relationships may be significant is also examined.

The data analyses showed that the LOC of South Africans has steadily increased (become *more internalised*) from 1995 to 2006, and that a significant interaction effect occurs between race and class on LOC in South Africa. It was likewise discovered that class and LOC were highly correlated with each other – the self-reported Lower Class had a notably lower LOC compared to the relatively high LOC of the self-reported Upper Class.

It is suggested that improved education levels and social security benefits may have a role in improving individuals' LOC, especially in the South African context. The results of this study uncover future research avenues into class analyses, particularly studies that seek to understand the psychological dimensions of self-reported class or the psychological antecedents of class mobility.

Opsomming

Rotter (1966) se lokus van beheer (LVB) is, fundamenteel, 'n teorie wat betrekking het tot individueë se persepsies van persoonlike beheer en die waarde wat hul heg aan gebeurlikhede waar versterkings hul voordoene in hul lewens. 'n Individue mag voel asof hy/sy geen beheer het nie (*eksterne* LVB) of genoegsame beheer het (*interne* LVB) oor versterkings. As gevolg van die bruikbaarheid van die term, geniet die lokus van beheer toenemend aandag sedert die bekendstelling daarvan aan academici in die laat 1960s. Die term was aanvanklik geposisioneer in Sosiale Leer Teorie, maar die idee van lokusse van beheer is ook later aangewend in Sosiologiese en Mediese studies. Hierdie studie bring nou die teorie van LVB na Politieke Wetenskap.

World Values Study (WVS) data wat versamel is tydens drie opeenvolgende jare (1995, 2001 en 2006) in Suid-Afrika is aangewend as deel van hierdie longitudinale studie om te bepaal of self-geïdentifiseerde klas en/of ras 'n impak het op LVB. Die verhoudinge van hierdie drie veranderlikes, sowel as die beduidendheid van hierdie verhoudings, is ondersoek.

Die data analise toon dat die LVB van Suid-Afrikaners bestendig vermeerder het (meer geïnternaliseer het) vanaf 1995 tot en met 2006, en dat 'n noemenswaardige interaksie effek voorkom tussen ras en klas en hul impak op LVB in die Suid-Afrikaanse geval. Daar is eweneens gevind dat klas en LVB hoogs gekorrileerd is vir die aangeduide periode – die self-geïdentifiseerde Laer Klas het merkbaar laer LVB in vergelyking met die relatiewe hoë LVB van die self-geïdentifiseerde Hoër Klas.

Dit word voorgestel dat verbeterde opvoeding vlakke en welsyns voordele 'n rol speel in die verbetering van individueë se LVB, veral in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks. Die bevinding van hierdie studie kan gebruik word om toekomstige navorsing met betrekking tot klasverskille te begrond, vernameam studies wat sielkundige dimensies van self-geïdentifiseerde klasgroep of die sielkundige bepalers van klas mobiliteit ondersoek.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Contextualising the Study

1.1.1 Class, Race and Locus of Control in South Africa

Conceptualising socioeconomic class has, over the past decade, become an increasingly complex endeavour as a result of an ever globalising market-place, the rise of liberal-democracies and the advent of an ‘internationalised’ labour market. Definitions of class have effected contention as far back as the 1800s with the notion of class continually evolving from the considerations of ideologists and academics such as Karl Marx, Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, John Goldthorpe and Dennis Gilbert (Weber, 1964; Marks, 1999; Gilbert, 2002; Christensen & Levinson, 2004; Goldthorpe & McKnight, 2004). With this in mind, the task of defining socioeconomic strata is only further complicated by the fact that it involves two distinct, yet often intertwined, notions: social class (prestige-based) and economic positioning (resource-based). An individual’s social class is a relative societal grouping dependent on his/her occupation, education and wealth¹. Socioeconomic class is thus to be understood as an “aggregate concept that includes both resource-based and prestige-based measures as linked to both childhood and adult social class position” (Krieger, 2002: 10). In order to prevent any confusion later on, it must be noted here that *class* is to be understood as being synonymous with *socioeconomic class* for the purposes of this study.

In conjunction with the difficulties in defining socioeconomic class as a concept are issues pertaining to its analysis and measurement. The contestation surrounding methods of evaluation stem from the reality that, as of yet, there is no agreement as to what typically characterises the lower-, middle- and upper- classes. Moreover, there are also those who see not just three, but five or six hierarchies of socioeconomic stratification². The reason for this being that socioeconomic class appears to be a highly subjective concept, with some perceiving themselves to be lower class whereas others may see these individuals as

¹ The determinants of social class will be discussed in more detail within Chapter Two of this study.

² The anthropologist William Lloyd Warner (1949, cited in Nichol, Brown & Haynes, 2011: 189) divided classes up into six hierarchies, namely: “upper-upper class, lower-upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, upper-lower class, and lower-lower class”. Alternatively, one may find class divided into the five subcategories of “upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, working class and lower class” (Schaefer, 2005: 185). The five model stratification of socioeconomic class appears to be the most popular in literature.

belonging to the middle class. Regardless of the deliberation surrounding the conceptualisation and operationalisation of socioeconomic class however, what one does find is consensus on the importance of class – particularly in terms of class mobility³. It stands to reason that the more upward mobility found between classes, the more likely it is that the gap between the rich and poor in societies will decrease, eventually reducing economic inequality (a critical issue facing South Africa at the moment⁴).

With this in mind, Saunders (1990: 68) makes the important observation that in today's modern societies an individual's class is no longer “determined at birth the way it tended to be in feudal and caste systems” and movement between (and indeed within) classes is now possible. The only question that remains is how? What are the determinants of class mobility? In answer to these questions Butler, Beach and Winfree (2008: 1 – 6) find that the solution is generally three-fold. That is to say that the path towards social mobility⁵ can be found in Human Capital (education and health influences), Social Capital (family, community and social influences) and Financial Capital (savings and wealth influences). While these are certainly very insightful indicators of social mobility, the authors have neglected to pay attention to any psychological factors that may play an equally salient role – let alone the influence loci of control (LOC)⁶, as a means of understanding individuals' expectancy of control over positive and negative events in life, may have on movement within and between socioeconomic classes.

According to a study conducted by Roberts (2009) for the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa, the majority of South Africans see themselves as belonging to the lower class⁷. When this was analysed according to race, the relative majority of Africans (45%) saw themselves as lower class, Coloureds (34%) as working class, with both the relative majority

³ According to Nichol, Brown and Haynes (2011: 189) class mobility can be differentiated according to straightforward *Mobility* (generational changes in class), *Structural Mobility* (increased economic opportunities, in most instances as a result of economic growth), and *Circulation Mobility* (the equality with which society distributes existing opportunities).

⁴ The World Bank (2013a) reports that South Africa “remains a dual economy with one of the highest inequality rates in the world, perpetuating inequality and exclusion”.

⁵ In this instance the authors see ‘social mobility’ as socioeconomic mobility.

⁶ A psychological construct developed by Julian B. Rotter in 1966.

⁷ In Robert's (2009) study: the racial categories given were African, Coloured, Indian and White, while the class levels were defined as Lower, Working, Middle, Upper-Middle and Upper.

of Whites (46%) and Indians (39%) considering themselves as belonging to the middle class (Roberts, 2009). Clearly there is much inequality in terms of socioeconomic statuses between South Africans and across races. One can only wonder as to the psychological influences the class composition of South Africa has had on its citizens, and whether these citizens feel they have any control over their socioeconomic progression (or lack thereof). Are Human Capital, Social Capital and Financial Capital the only factors needed for class mobility in South Africa? As was mentioned earlier on, socioeconomic class is often a highly subjective notion, therefore compelling research into an individual's subjective ability to advance.

When it comes to researching the values and attitudes of individuals in South Africa there appears to be a definite lack of information relating to loci of control in general, particularly when isolated to specific socioeconomic groups within the country. What little there has been done, for instance Riordan's (1978) cross-ethnic study of locus of control in South Africa, is steadily becoming out-dated to the point where it bears minimal relevance in this decade. This sentiment is only amplified by the fact that any research relating to specific races and loci of control in South Africa prior to 1994⁸ have been undertaken in an era where the reliability and validity of the data is now questionable. There is a gap in knowledge in terms of research that is both up-to-date and comprehensive; a fissure that should prove interesting to repair in light of South Africa's infamous political history and the impact that the apartheid regime has had on both the contemporary socioeconomic composition of its citizens, and the psyche of those deemed 'of colour'.

1.1.2 Research Problem

Democracy in South Africa has been maturing since its inauguration in 1994. However, while all South African citizens may enjoy political equality, poverty and social inequality are still rife in the country. This is illustrated by the fact that by 2011, 37.7% of the population were living in relative poverty⁹ with 2.7% of South Africans living on less than \$2 a day (Kane-

⁸ 1994 marked the first year in South Africa where citizens of all races were allowed to vote in elections (since the institutionalisation of apartheid in 1948 by the National Party) and is recognised as the first year of democracy in the country. Prior to the 1994 elections non-White South Africans were subjected to systemised racism and discriminatory policies (Worden, 2012: 1 – 9).

⁹ Relative poverty in this instance is defined as "those living in households with incomes less than the poverty income" (Kane-Berman, 2012: 324)

Berman, 2012: 324 – 325). Furthermore, while 86.4% of all economically active¹⁰ South Africans are employed (Kane-Berman, 2012: 216), they still face disparities in income according to their race, gender and locations (World Bank, 2012a: 10).

A World Bank (2012a: 38) report on South African inequality makes the salient point that: “an equitable society would not allow circumstances over which [an] individual has no control to influence her or his basic opportunities after birth”. The above does beg the question however of whether the individual him- or herself would allow the same. It is important to note the possible psychological impacts that an individual’s milieu has on their social and economic development – the most prominent example of this being *poverty traps*¹¹. One should therefore always be aware of the possible role a person’s psyche has on their social mobility – regardless of opportunity. Moreover, a person’s perceived control (as measured through LOC) may have a significant impact on their self-perceived class position - both being effected by the psychological state of a person. With this in mind, Rotter’s (1966) LOC construct opens a new gateway into the analysis of social (class) mobility by way of an individual’s perceptions of control.

In light of the vast economic inequality present in South Africa, as well as the possible psychological influences behind an individual’s class identification, the following research problem has been formulated: What is the nature of the relationship between a person’s locus of control and their perceived socioeconomic class?

1.1.3 Rationale and Significance of the Study

According to Garcia-Rivero, du Toit and Kotzé (2003: 6), the middle class can be considered as the “most pro-democratic social stratum in society”. This is a sentiment that forms a core theoretical standpoint for this study. With the increasing size, and inevitable importance of the Black middle class in South Africa, any study pertaining to this socioeconomic group should prove not only interesting, but relevant to any research aiming to study facets of democracy within South Africa.

¹⁰ Those who are considered to be economically active are between the ages of 15 - 64 and are either employed in the informal or formal sector or actively searching for work (Kane-Berman, 2012: 227).

¹¹ Where poverty persists as a result of a number of self-reinforcing mechanisms. See Sachs (2005) for more detail on poverty traps.

Due to the nature of the locus of control construct, the empirical results of this study could introduce a new research dimension in terms of examining class mobility and the subsequent impact this has on the strengths and weaknesses of democratic regimes. As such, very little has been done to-date with regards to locus of control in the South African context – particularly with reference to socioeconomic class and race – allowing this study the opportunity to contribute to and expand upon the current literature on locus of control.

1.1.4 Research Question, Objectives and Propositions

The overarching research question in this study is: To what extent do race and class influence LOC in South Africa? The research in this study has hence been undertaken with the aim to understand the relationship between these three variables in South Africa (1995 – 2006) and to assess the extent to which a relationship between these variables may be significant. In order to do so, the following five research objectives are advanced:

- To measure the LOC of South Africans from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between class and race from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between LOC and class from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between LOC and race from 1995 to 2006.
- To establish whether differences in LOC can be attributed to the interaction between race and class from 1995 to 2006.

In addition to the aforementioned research objectives, the following propositions are also addressed within this study:

Proposition 1: The average LOC score of South Africans has increased (become more internalised) from 1995 to 2006 – an upshot of the continued entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in the country.

Proposition 2: There is a statistically significant relationship between race and class in South Africa.

Proposition 3: Individuals who consider themselves to be Middle Class or higher will have a significantly higher (internalised) LOC in comparison to those who perceive themselves to be Lower Class.

Proposition 4: Disparities in LOC, across race groups, will occur - a result of South Africa's particular social setting and the impact that apartheid's discriminatory policies have had on the contemporary make-up of socioeconomic classes in the country.

Proposition 5: An interaction will occur between the variables of class and race which will in turn have a significant effect on the LOC scores of South Africans.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 The Middle Class, Inequality and Democracy

"A new middle class is developing in emerging market economies as significant proportions of the population rise up from poverty in line with rapid economic growth. The expansion of this middle class not only provides competition for labour and resources, but also enormous potential for global consumer markets" (Euromonitor International, 2010).

The middle class has been a subject of academic research and discourse for many years and is likely to remain so for many more. What originated as a description for a social class that fell between peasants and nobles in Europe has taken hold around the world in fields as varied as Sociology and Economics. Understood in Weberian terms as the socioeconomic class that falls between the working class and the upper class (Weber, 1964), the middle class can now be dissected into numerous sub-categories dependent on how one defines this population group.

The above being said, many academics distinguish between two particular types of middle class, namely the 'old' and 'new' middle class (Nelson, 1968; Burris, 1986; Garcia-Rivero, du Toit & Kotzé, 2011). The latter entails individuals who work as professionals, managers or clerks while the former refers to those who are self-employed and own real estate or land. It is important to note here that, besides categorising middle class according to types of occupation, one is also able to draw distinctions between socioeconomic classes according to the average income received per year for employment (although this admittedly proves to be a difficult and complicated process).

As has been previously mentioned, it is believed that a strong (or large) middle class is supportive of democracies (Lu, 2005). The argument to the effect is as follows: to be statistically categorised as middle class one should have employment, a good level of

education and have ownership of some form of property or land (Amoranto, Chun, & Deolalikar, 2010). This means that the middle class have vested interests in ensuring that their respective governments prioritise the protection of property and possessions – often translating into active participation in elections and in governance (Madland, 2011). Furthermore, survey research on 13 emerging economies, conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project¹², have shown that the “middle classes consistently give more weight to free speech and fair elections than do the poor, who are more concerned than the middle class about freedom from poverty” (The Economist, 2011).

While the above come across as reasonable assertions, Fukuyama (2012: 53 - 56) makes the valid counter-argument that; just because the middle class own property and are relatively well educated does not mean that they support democratic regimes exclusively. Fukuyama (2012: 54) goes on to say that there are instances where the middle class have supported autocratic political regimes simply due to the fact that these governments offer them the protection of property or position¹³. A strong middle class may not always reinforce democracies.

In his study of *Inequality and Satisfaction with Democracy*, Schäfer (2013: 14 – 15) found that “personal hardship such as unemployment creates discontent [... and that] inequality could spark off democratic distemper”. Inequality is often perceived as a threat to both the establishment and consolidation of democracies (Boix, 2003). Not only is contemporary South Africa struggling with high inequality rates and prevalent poverty, but a situation whereby class and race are inevitably linked - an unfortunate inheritance of the apartheid regime and its barrier to employment opportunities based on race. Moreover, it was this lack of access to employment that acted as a “driver of income inequality and an obstacle to economic mobility” in the country (Narayan & Mahajan, 2013: 3). There remains a serious need to redress the racial inequality instigated by apartheid, so as to augment the upward social mobility of previously oppressed South Africans.

¹² Pew Global Attitudes Project is a worldwide public opinion survey established by the Pew Research Centre (an American think-tank) based Washington, DC. For more information, visit: <http://www.economist.com/node/21528212>.

¹³ In this instance, Fukuyama (2012) lists the Chinese middle class as an example.

The above being said, global rising numbers of the Black middle class¹⁴ (sometimes referred to as the *Black Diamonds* in South Africa) have resulted in numerous research ventures focusing on this specific socioeconomic group (Southall, 2004; Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck, 2009). One of the most significant endeavours at tackling class and inequality in a South African context however, can be found in the 2005 offering of Seekings and Nattras, *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa*. The authors posit that the new basis for inequality within South Africa is class rather than race, a notion that Garcia-Rivero, du Toit and Kotzé (2003: 6 – 25) mentioned three years prior, and still rings true seven years on.

1.2.2 Internal-External: Perceptions of Control

Rotter's 1966 conceptualisation of Locus of Control of Reinforcement – hereafter referred to as locus of control – has been espoused as one of the most salient contributions to the field of personality psychology. Locus of control is conceptualised as the attitudes and behaviour that people adopt in life according to their perception of what determines whether or not they receive reinforcement in life. That is to say how much control one believes one has over the positive, and conversely negative, outcomes in life. The measurement of loci of control is based on a one-dimensional continuum that ranges from internal to external. Those who fall within the range of internalised control (Internalisers) feel that reinforcements are within their control and therefore dependent on their own actions. Those who express a more external locus of control (Externalisers) believe that reinforcement is not contingent on their own actions but on events or persons outside of their personal control (Rotter, 1966; Rotter, 1975; Rotter, 1990; Lefcourt, 1982).

While Rotter (1975, 1990) suggests that an internal locus of control is more desirable than an external locus of control, there are instances where an internal locus of control is detrimental to an individual's social and mental health. There is such a thing as too much self-reliance, the occurrence of which may (for example) result in either a lack of trust in the ruling government or the complete rejection of it – a point of concern for the success of democracy. It is likewise important to note that not all instances of loci of control derive from underlying personality constructs but can also come about as a result of a learned response to one's environment – a notion that is of particular interest when analysing the relationship between

¹⁴ The Mail & Guardian (2007) reported a 30% increase in the South African Black middle class in just a year, according to research undertaken by the Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing.

socioeconomic class and loci of control. Rotter (1966) warns against the application of locus of control as a typology as it is not an “either/ or proposition”; additionally asserting that one should make allowances for instances where an Internaliser behaves as an Externaliser (dependent on situation) and vice versa. The locus of control construct is by no means infallible.

There are very few criticisms of Rotter’s construct with the majority of appreciations of his work being limited to a simple refinement of the means of measuring loci of control – a process that originally entailed an individual answering 20 questions (see Appendix A). Ashkanasy (1985), Marsh and Richards (1986), and Furnham and Steele (1993) provide perhaps the most relevant critiques on the dimensionality, interpretation and formatting of Rotter’s Internal-External scale. While originally developed as a general psychological construct in response to social learning personalities, locus of control has been modified and expanded upon to the extent that one now finds everything from a Health locus of control (Wallston, 1992; Ali & Lindström, 2008; Lindström, 2010; Infurna, Gerstorf & Zarit, 2011) to a Work locus of control (Furnham & Steele, 1993; König *et al.*, 2010; Wang, Bowling & Eschleman, 2010).

One of the most interesting variations of Rotter’s construct, at least in terms of this specific study, is the Economic locus of control scale developed by Furnham (1986). Much like the original locus of control construct, Economic loci of control measure an individual’s perceptions and attitudes towards reinforcements – only this time the scale focuses on how much control one believes one has over work and money-related aspects (Halpert & Hill, 2011: 88). This 40-item questionnaire (see Appendix B) has been used in numerous studies¹⁵ since its foundation and serves as a useful supplement to the original 1966 premise. While this study specifically focuses on the general locus of control construct, a cursory understanding of the Economic locus¹⁶ of control is beneficial nonetheless.

¹⁵ For example: Sakalaki, Kanellaki, & Richardson (2009), Sakalaki, Richardson, and Bastonis (2007); Coleman and DeLeire (2003); and Heaven (1989, 1990).

¹⁶ Furnham’s (1986) Economic locus of control will be discussed in more detail within Chapter Two of this study.

1.3 Conceptualisation of Key Concepts

1.3.1 Locus of Control

A psychological construct developed by Rotter in 1966 that places individuals on an Internal-External control continuum. The internal end of the continuum concerns individuals who feel that they can decide their own destiny, whereas the external end is associated with those who feel that they cannot escape a predetermined fate.

1.3.2 Externalisers

These are individuals who experience an external locus of control. Externalisers believe reinforcements are beyond their control, and instead occur as a result of fate, luck or external intervention.

1.3.3 Internalisers

These are individuals who experience an internal locus of control. Internalisers believe reinforcements are dependent on their personal actions alone.

1.3.4 Socioeconomic class

This is a relative societal grouping that is dependent on economic standing (occupation, wealth and education). Socioeconomic class can either be statistically measured, or subjectively assumed (as is the case with self-reported socioeconomic class). Socioeconomic class will be used interchangeably with the term 'class' in order to avoid any confusion that may arise as a result of reference to either class mobility, or the various hierarchies of class.

1.3.5 Socioeconomic mobility

Socioeconomic mobility/ economic mobility/ social mobility is, according to Butler, Beach and Winfree (2008: 3 - 4), the measurement of how much a person's socioeconomic class has changed either *intergenerationally* (children's income as to parent's income as to grandparent's income) or *intragenerationally* (change of class of an individual over a lifetime). This change can be *vertical*, in that an individual moves up or down the class hierarchy, or *horizontal*, in which case the person just changes employment positions within the same socioeconomic class.

1.4 Research Design

1.4.1 Research Methodology

This study is descriptive in nature as it provides a detailed and highly accurate picture of the relationship between locus of control, class and race in South Africa coupled with an explanation as to the causes and reasons behind any relationship that may indeed exist. Neuman (2011: 38) asserts that descriptive and explanatory research often naturally “blur together in practice” as where one practice describes a casual process the other predicts or explains it. Furthermore, this study draws on longitudinal survey data that has been collected across three time points (the years 1995, 2001 and 2006) in South Africa. Longitudinal studies are usually more powerful and offer greater insights into phenomena and processes, yet this type of research is often very costly and time consuming in terms of data collection. That being said, because this study relies on secondary data analysis it has fortunately avoided the resource-intensive aspects of longitudinal research.

This study will be grounded on quantitative study as opposed to qualitative examination in this study. This is primarily due to the fact that data from the South African waves of the 1995, 2001 and 2006 World Values Survey’s¹⁷ will be employed in conjunction with the use of the statistical software package, SPSS¹⁸. Nevertheless, secondary data found in academic journals, articles and books will also be drawn on. Quantitative research proves to be the most appropriate approach for the purposes of this study, most notably due to the empirical observations required in order to answer the primary research question and test the hypotheses of this study.

¹⁷ An international organisation based in Sweden that undertakes a global study on the values and beliefs of people, how they alter over time and the impact these values and beliefs have politically and socially. See: www.worldvaluesurvey.org.

¹⁸ Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, more commonly known as SPSS, is one of the most widely used statistical analysis computer programs in the world. Developed by the IBM Corporation in 1968, this software allows for the capturing and analysis of data; most notably permitting users to statistically test the reliability and significance of hypotheses. SPSS is currently available (as of August 2011) in its 20.0 version, however the statistical analyses for this study have been executed in version 18.0 as this was the only version available.

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations

The primary limitation when it comes to this study is rooted in the fact that the quantitative data sets employed in the statistical analyses are from the South African waves of the World Values Surveys of 1995, 2001 and 2006. This means that all research stems from a secondary analysis of survey data. Since the data was not personally collected, nor was the survey questionnaires personally developed, a second limitation for this study is that the majority of the World Values Survey statistics are not relevant to this specific study – leaving only a small data faction to work from.

Concurrent with the fact that the data was not personally collected, there is the possibility that errors in data documentation occurred during the fieldwork segments of the World Values Surveys that have not been detected in this study. These errors could be as a result of anything from respondents producing responses that they think the researcher may want to hear (social desirability effect) or simply being non-responsive, to basic interviewer bias or research selectivity (Mouton, 2011: 106 – 107). Data capturing errors may have similarly taken place as a result of human fault even after the data had been documented. There is of course also the risk that too many values are missing as a result of incomplete questionnaires. A third limitation of this study is as a direct result of the trends that occurred in locus of control research. That is to say that a great deal of literature pertaining to the construct is found in the 1970s and early 1980s, which means that some of the theory addressed in this study is over 40 years old. This trend in research is most likely due to the fact that Rotter's premise was still new in the academic world during those periods, consequently resulting in an eruption of locus of control research until the enthusiasm surrounding the construct receded.

Delimitations for research include the fact that the majority of the literature used in the qualitative sections of this study was published between 2000 and 2012, with only a few articles and academic sources being drawn from years preceding this period (most notably literature pertaining to the locus of control premise). This study does not aspire to investigate the validity or reliability of the locus of control construct itself, delimiting the research in this study to the exclusive evaluation of class, race and locus of control in South Africa between 1995 and 2006. Research is further delimited due to the geographic focus on South Africa, as well as the specific attention paid to socioeconomic class and race.

1.6 Chapter Outline

Chapter Two (Literature Review) encompasses an in-depth¹⁹ examination of the existing body of knowledge and theories relating to socioeconomic class, issues of race in South Africa and the psychological construct of Locus of Control.

Chapter Three (Research Design and Methodology) follows on from this with an extensive discussion of the research design and methodology employed in this study. This includes a description of how the variables of class, race, and locus of control will be conceptualised and operationalized. Chapter Three also aims to address issues of measurement and data analysis pertinent to this study.

Chapter Four (Data Analysis and Findings) tackles the seven objectives of this study through the univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses of World Values Survey data. The presentation and discussion of results are found herein, with particular reference being made to the four propositions presented in Chapter One (Introduction).

Chapter Five (Conclusion) presents the final conclusion of the research together with a discussion of the most salient points and/ or results thereof. This concluding chapter will likewise include recommendations for possible future research.

¹⁹ In as far as the scope of this study allows.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this Chapter is to present the theoretical groundwork on which this study is based. Debates surrounding the concept of class and how to measure it are raised, in addition to the progression of beliefs regarding the nature of inequality. Social mobility and its potential association to the perceptions of control and self-efficacy of individuals is also addressed – notions that have been echoed in research outputs based on Rotter's (1966) locus of control construct. The history of racial discrimination in South Africa is discussed (with particular reference given to apartheid legislature) in order to better contextualise the link between race and class in contemporary South Africa. It is through the review of germane literature that an understanding of the key variables examined within the study (class, race, and locus of control) is achieved. Moreover, the theories addressed within this Chapter allow for a better interpretation of the results of the data analyses performed in Chapter Four²⁰.

2.2 Considering Class

What is class? The answer to this question calls for the understanding of the notion of class as being ubiquitous. Utilised as a description for social groups by layman and academic alike, class serves as a prime example of Giddens's (1976) unavoidable 'double hermeneutic' whereby "The 'findings' of the social sciences very often enter constitutively into the world they describe" (Giddens, 1987: 20). That is to say that class, much like other concepts and categories in the social sciences, has been "re-appropriated by lay actors into their everyday vernacular" (Parker, Uprichard & Burrows, 2007: 903). Classes are often seen as social contexts that affect a myriad of outcomes for individuals, ranging from their behaviour and attitudes to their actions (Grusky, 2008: 5). This is consistent with an investigation undertaken by the American Psychological Association (APA) where social class and socioeconomic factors were considered to be "fundamental determinants of human functioning across the lifespan, including development, well-being, and physical and mental health" (APA, 2007: 1). The latent consequences of an individual's class have thus stimulated extensive use of the concept in academic research. Yet while the notion of class may be pervasive, there is no standard definition of class or consensus on the measurement thereof.

²⁰ A good understanding of the literature available on the topic of research will inevitably give one better insight as to what to expect at the end of a study, thus avoiding trivial conclusions.

Class has been defined by researchers, either simultaneously or discretely, via the indicators of ‘income’, ‘wealth’, ‘occupation’, ‘education’, ‘power’, and ‘prestige’. British sociologist Goldthorpe (2000: 206) for instance famously expresses class as “positions defined by employment relations”²¹. Schizzerotto (2011: 2446) takes the ‘power and prestige’ route whereby he defines class as a “social category made up of individuals and families who possess the same power assets and hence hold the same position in the overall system of social relations of domination and subordination”. A class is also often explained simply as a group of people who are “identified by virtue of their economic position in society” (Spicker, Leguizamón & Gordon, 2006: 36).²²

When examining the literature available on the topic of class (ranging from the realm of sociology to psychology and economics) one is very quickly met with the aforementioned unhappy realisation that there is no absolute definition of the concept; there is no consensus on what ‘class’ means or how to measure it. As a result one finds, unsurprisingly, that the conceptualisation and operationalisation of class alters according to the needs and background of the researcher. This makes the comparative analysis of class internationally a complicated procedure²³. Moreover, the nomenclature of class analysis only serves to further complicate the matter: ‘class’, ‘social class’, ‘social status’, ‘socioeconomic class’, ‘occupational-economic class’, and ‘economic class’ are a few of the concepts used interchangeably by some, yet concurrently considered to be distinct concepts by others. Class then, it seems, has been used as an overarching term for a vast array of class analysis lexes.

Despite the disparities surrounding the definition of class, there is agreement concerning the manifestation of class: inequality. Grusky (2008: 2) distinguishes between eight forms of inequality, based on an individual’s access to valued goods: economic (e.g. income), power (e.g. political), cultural (e.g. knowledge), social (e.g. informal networks), honorific (e.g. occupational), civil (e.g. franchise), human (e.g. education), and physical (e.g. health). Whether or not an individual falls within a group that is advantaged or disadvantaged, in

²¹ That is to say that an individual’s class position is a product of his “social relations in economic life” (Goldthorpe & McKnight, 2004: i).

²² This is a sentiment shared by Western (2010: 87) who asserts that class refers to social groups that are “defined by the economic circumstances of individuals and households”.

²³ As Diemer *et al* (2012: 4) correctly point out; “using different indicators of social class to study the same phenomena may yield different conclusions”.

terms of access to these valued goods, depends on their social location within an ‘inequality space’ (Grusky, 2008: 2). An ‘inequality space’ can be otherwise understood as a structure of inequality²⁴ where; a) individuals occupy differentiated structural positions, b) these positions are situated in strata, and c) the strata determine an individual’s access to valued goods or life chances (Morgan, 2008: 1).

The relationship between inequality and class stratification has exposed the significance of the concept of class for the analysis and understanding of social and economic disparities in society (Savage, 2011; Trigilia, 2011; Western, 2010; Keister & Southgate, 2012). Just as the defining characteristics of class have changed over the years²⁵, so too has the perception of just how intrinsic inequality is. Whereas now humans are considered to be born equal (by virtue of their humanity), pre-industrial or traditional societies viewed the inequality of humans as innate from birth and divinely ordained (Crompton, 1993: 1 – 5). That is to say they perceived inequality as a natural occurrence, an appraisal illustrated by Aristotle in 350 B. C. E. when he declared: “That some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule” (Internet Classics Archive, 2013). Exemplars hereof include the caste system in classic India – where one’s karma dictated his/ her social rank - and the moral justifications of the Church in feudal Europe that ‘poverty was of divine origin’ (Pirenne, 1936: 423; Crompton, 1993: 2).

It is in *The Social Contract* (1762)²⁶ that one comes across Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s famous edict that “Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains”. A statement that exemplifies the political thoughts on equality from the seventeenth century onwards: man is born free and equal; it is mankind itself who creates inequality. Contrary to Rousseau’s (1762) estimations, O’Brien (2002: 301 - 316) instead argues that man is not born free, but is set free through the creation of institutions to protect his rights. This contention is reinforced when one considers

²⁴ Stratification is considered a “structure of inequality where individuals occupy differentiated positions that are ranked hierarchically” (Morgan, 2008: 1). The notion of stratification will be dealt with further on.

²⁵ Class distinctions, and the debate surrounding the characteristics of class, will be addressed further on in this chapter.

²⁶ The premises of *The Social Contract* (1762) were based on Rousseau’s earlier work in *Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality Among Men* (1754) where he first mentions that equality between men was ordained by nature, and inequality a feature merely introduced by men themselves.

that, currently, the intrinsic freedom and equality of men is guaranteed through Articles one and two of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights [...] Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status” (United Nations, 2013).

Nevertheless, a guarantee of freedom does not negate the continuation of inequality²⁷. When referring to the system of inequalities within (and between) societies, the term ‘stratification’ is used. Sorokin (1927) was the first to develop a concept of stratification in *Social and Cultural Mobility*, but the term was only made famous a number of years later by the work of Parsons (1940) and his students. To Parsons (1940: 841), stratification was the differential ranking of individuals in a ‘social system’ that resulted in “their treatment as superior or inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects”. Structural functionalist approaches to stratification were advanced by Davis and Moore (1945), students of Parsons, who regarded the social system as comparable to a living organism. They saw inequality as “an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons” (Moore & Davis, 1945: 243). The notion that social inequality (and thus stratification) was a natural necessity-based occurrence quickly resulted in widespread criticism for Moore and Davis, many arguing that their theory was fallacious²⁸ and filled with redundancies (Tumin, 1953; Buckley, 1958; Wrong, 1959; Moore, 1963; Huaco, 1966). Notwithstanding the criticisms levelled at Davis and Moore, their theory does read oddly similar to the notions of Aristotle hundreds of years ago - inequality is natural.

More recently stratification is described by Kerbo (2006: 10) as the entrenchment of a social hierarchy in society whereby an individual’s position (class) determines his/ her access to valued services, resources or influence. Schizzerotto (2011: 2446) believes that researchers “prefer to represent social stratification in terms of class schemes” because “distributive

²⁷ Crompton (1993: 7) asserts that, if equality of opportunity was achieved, it could act as a strong justification for inequality: “if all have an equal opportunity to be unequal, then the unequal outcome must be regarded as justified and fair, as a reflection of ‘natural’ inequalities of personal endowments, rather than of structured social processes”.

²⁸ Structural inequality is viewed by their critics as the ‘cause’ and not merely an ‘outcome’ of social inequality.

inequalities ultimately depend on relational disparities”. It is important to note here that, while social inequalities are long-standing, the notion of class only emerged in the nineteenth century with the “increasing division of labour accompanying industrialization” (Woodhouse, 2005: 345). The introduction of stratification systems, and thereby distinct classes, was a pivotal by-product of the industrialisation process – where technological progress and the expansion of markets “altered the social structures of traditional feudal and agrarian societies and gave rise to more complex urban societies” (Kaya & Brady, 2008: 166).

Any reflection on the concept of class commonly entails a discussion of the theoretical considerations of Karl Marx (1818 – 1883), Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895), Max Weber (1864 – 1920), Émile Durkheim (1858 – 1917), Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002), John Goldthorpe (1935-) or Erik Olin Wright (1947-). While the aforementioned influential thinkers were not the first to address notions of stratification and status, they are undeniably the most prominent intellectuals in the realm of class analysis²⁹. Whereas it would be preferable to discuss, in detail, the philosophies of each influential thinker – time and scope constraints lay bare the impracticality of that exercise. Accordingly what follows is as brief a synopsis as possible of the distinguishing contributions of Marx, Weber, and Bourdieu to class analyses.

2.2.1 Noteworthy Contributions to Class Analysis Theory

2.2.1.1 Marx: Theories of Exploitation³⁰

In their 1848 *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels (1998: 34) asserted that “The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles”. To Marx and Engels, inequality was a reflection of differential access to the means of production and its outputs – a situation that would inevitably bring about the removal of the bourgeoisie by way of proletariat revolution. The Marxist manner of differentiating classes according to those who own economic resources (bourgeoisie) and those who do not (proletariat) creates an objective notion of class given that “class is purely a matter of actual economic relationships,

²⁹ Any study that “explores the determinants and consequences of social phenomena in terms of class and class relations” (Onder, 2010: 147) falls within the domain of class analysis.

³⁰ Wright (2009: 107) differentiates between domination and exploitation as thus: “domination refers to the ability to control the activities of others; exploitation refers to the acquisition of economic benefits from the labour of those who are dominated”.

independent of individuals' perceptions of their social status or shared interests" (Fisken, 2010: 214).

The Marxist conceptualisation of class (and theory of class struggle) relies primarily on the notion of economic exploitation³¹, the advent of which requires the satisfaction of three criteria according to the Marxist sociologist Wright (2005: 23): a) the material welfare of exploiters is antagonistic towards the material interests of the exploited, b) the inverse interdependence of the material welfare of exploiters is contingent on the exclusion of the exploited from access to certain productive resources, and c) the exclusion of the exploited generates a material advantage for exploiters, who are consequently able to draw on the labour of the exploited³². According to Marx, the 'rich remain rich solely because the poor stay poor', which is why Polák (2013: 96) writes that "historically speaking, the notion of exploitation was bound up with the existence of poverty".

2.2.1.2 Weber: Status and Class

German sociologist Weber (1978: 302) recognises a class situation³³ as "one in which there is a shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining position in life, and finding inner satisfaction". Namely, members of the same class are able to enjoy the same life chances. This class position is thought by Weber to be determined by the market situation, which acts as the source of inequality in life situations. The importance of the labour market in the creation of class inequality, in a Weberian sense, is due in part to 'opportunity hoarding'. Wright (2009: 104) describes the process of 'opportunity hoarding' as the means through which individuals restrict certain positions (via social exclusion) so that they continue to offer high incomes and special benefits. This exclusionary mechanism therefore affects class structures.

³¹ Exploitation is closely linked to the notion of the *mode of production* (MoP) to Marxists. The mode of production is essentially "characterised by the way in which the exploiting classes force surplus labour out of the exploited classes" (Polák, 2013: 13).

³² Wright (1985: 77) thus sees exploitation as the "economically oppressive appropriation of the fruits of labour of one class by another". This perspective has been criticised by some for focusing solely on the appropriation of 'things', and in so doing Wright has overlooked the appropriation of "subjectivity...and intellectual powers of men" (Carchedi, 1989: 108).

³³ "Ownership or non-ownership of material goods or of definite skills constitute the 'class-situation'" (Weber, 1946: 405).

Weber refers to class and status as disparate underpinnings of social identity: economic (class) and symbolic (status). A class is “a group of people who, from the standpoint of specific interests, have the same economic position” (Weber, 1946: 405). Status on the other hand is defined as “a quality of social honour or a lack of it, and is in the main conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style of life” (Weber, 1946: 405). Status can therefore alternatively be explained as a prestige-based category. Although they are distinct phenomena, social class and social status can overlap – in which case individuals in the same social class may also belong to the same social status (Western, 2010: 88). It is social status, rather than economic class, which Weber perceives to be the principal basis of “societal power and social stratification” (Rivera, 2011: 1315).

2.2.1.3 Bourdieu: Capitals and Habitus

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of *habitus* encapsulates the importance of culture and cultural identity in both class identity and the process of class stratification. Best understood as the internalisation of social norms³⁴; an individual's *habitus* is thought to influence both his behaviour and thinking (Baker, 2011) and has been linked to distinctions in social class³⁵. That is to say that the socially learned aesthetic dispositions (or tastes) of individuals engender symbolic differences between people. It is symbolic differences that facilitate a process of social exclusion between those of the ‘upper’ class and those classes below them. When these symbolic differences merge with objective differences; class distinctions are established (Western, 2010: 89). This creates a self-reinforcing process whereby one's social class determines one's tastes and thus perceptions of socially valued behaviours and lifestyles³⁶. Class practices (or class fractions) are thus produced and reproduced through *habitus*.

Together with the notion of *habitus* Bourdieu is also known for distinguishing between different forms of capital. He argues that along with economic capital there also exists cultural capital and social capital – each playing an important role in class inequality

³⁴ Bourdieu (1984: 170) writes that habitus is created “without any deliberate pursuit of coherence... without any conscious concentration”.

³⁵ Habitus could for instance “serve to channel individuals into class-specific educational and occupational trajectories” (Rivera, 2011: 1316).

³⁶ As is illustrated in Bourdieu's study of French society in *Distinction* (1984), there exists a mutual influence between an individual and his social context.

(maintained through class fractions). These capitals operate in ‘semi-autonomous social fields’, namely hierarchical social arenas in which social positions are located. *Economic capital* is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights”, *cultural capital* is “convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications”, and social capital is constituted by social connections which are “convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 1986: 183 – 184). Rivera (2011: 1315) suggests that social and cultural capital be seen as “subtler forms of economic capital” since both can be used to generate material rewards. Just as social and cultural capital can bring about economic capital, a synergetic relationship exists whereby a person’s supply of social and cultural capital is influenced by his “position in a society’s economic class structure” (River, 2011: 1315).

2.2.2 Class Distinctions and Methods of Measurement

Before continuing the discussion of class distinctions, it is important to note that stratification occurs not only at the individual level, but at the macro-levels of analysis too – albeit through the use of income rather than class *per se*. The World Bank (2012b) utilises the Gross National Income (GNI)³⁷ of countries as a means of differentiating between them through their economies. Namely, countries are classified as being either a low-, lower middle-, upper middle-, or high income economy according to the “aggregate value of the gross balances of primary incomes for all sectors” (ISWGNA, 2009: 134). Consistent with this method of classification South Africa is listed by the World Bank (2012d) as being one of 54 upper middle income countries in the world, with a GNI per capita of \$6,960 in 2011³⁸.

While countries can be ranked in economic strata according to their GNI, an individual’s class is frequently determined both by their material resources and their perceived rank

³⁷ The move from the use of Gross National Product (GNP) to GNI as a means of classifying economies came about after the 1993 System of National Accounts (SNA) - an “internationally agreed standard set of recommendations on how to compile measures of economic activity” (United Nations, 2012) composed under the joint responsibility of the European Commission, International Monetary Fund, Organisation for Economic Co-operation, United Nations and World Bank. The latest version of this statistical framework is the 2008 SNA.

³⁸ The World Bank (2012a & 2012c) ranks economies as follows: low income (\$1,025 or less), lower middle income (\$1,026 - \$4,035), upper middle income (\$4,036 - \$12,475), and high income (\$12,476 or more).

(status) within the social hierarchy of their society³⁹. The designation of class by Diemer *et al* (2012: 3) is certainly one of the most inclusive, namely that class is a “higher order construct representing an individual or group’s relative position in an economic-social-cultural hierarchy”. That is to say that class can be indexed by an individual’s socioeconomic status (SES) and subjective social status (SSS) (Diemer *et al*, 2012: 1). While it is apparent that SSS is a self-perceived measure of class and thus determined simply by individuals’ perceptions, Diemer *et al* (2012: 6 – 23) offer four separate, ‘objective’ and ‘quantifiable’, measurements for SES:

2.2.2.1 Prestige-Based Measures

These measures specifically describe social stratification, appreciated through an individual’s relative social-political-economic standing. The most prominent prestige-based measurements are those of Duncan’s Socioeconomic Index (1961) - based on a combination of occupational prestige, income and education indicators – and the Standard International Occupational Prestige Scale created by Treiman (1977) which was based on the levels of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO)⁴⁰.

2.2.2.2 Resource-Based Measures

Resource-based measures take account of the individual and household indicators of income (labour market earnings, pensions, unemployment benefits), wealth (assets such as home or car ownership and savings), and/ or educational credentials (such as the number of years of education completed or the form of education). This is a method preferred by most economists due to the quantifiable, and therefore comparable, nature of the measure.

2.2.2.3 Poverty Measures (Relative)

Relative poverty measures highlight the subjective perceptions of what poverty means to people. “Focus is therefore on relative deprivation, standards of living, and material deprivation” (Diemer *et al*, 2012: 18). According to Spicker, Leguizamón and Gordon (2006: 169), two primary features of relative poverty are: a) the supposition that poverty is socially defined, and b) poverty can be determined by comparing individuals or households with those

³⁹ Due to the subjective nature of social ranking (how individuals perceive their social standing in relation to others), social class can therefore be understood as an identity-based variable.

⁴⁰ See ISCO-08 (2012) for a breakdown of the International Standard Classification of Occupations.

who are not poor. A popular choice for relative poverty measurement is that of the Living Standard Measure (LSM). The LSM is a multivariate wealth measure that is based on an individual's standard of living (Ungerer & Joubert, 2011: 97), usually indexed through a list of items individuals possess or services they have access to. This method of measuring class was successfully employed within a South African context by du Toit and Kotzé (2011) in *Liberal Democracy and Peace in South Africa*.

2.2.2.4 Poverty Measures (Absolute)

This measure stresses the identification of basic standard of living parameters. Absolute poverty is grounded in the premise that an individual or household that lacks sufficient income to cover the most basic physiological needs (such as food or shelter) is considered to be poor. Those that fall within this category of poverty are thus below the level of minimum need. The United Nations (1995), through the Copenhagen Declaration of the World Summit for Social Development, defined absolute poverty as:

“A condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services”

Absolute poverty is often identified through reference to poverty lines or poverty thresholds, with most researchers using the poverty line set by the World Bank at \$1.25 a day per person (World Bank, 2013e). While poverty thresholds may act as good indicators of poverty, Spicker, Leguizamón and Gordon (2007: 156) warn that they are by no means precise measures - there is often a compromise to be made between “sensitivity and applicability”.

2.2.3 Notable Contemporary Measurements of Class

While the average vocabulary of class distinction entails the relative expressions of ‘lower class’, ‘working class’, ‘middle class’ and ‘upper class’ – this terminology is not the only means of distinguishing between classes. Indeed, new class categories have been developed that bear little resemblance to the aforementioned terms. In light of this, the Goldthorpe Class Schema (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Goldthorpe, 2000; Rose & Pevalin, 2001; Goldthorpe & McKnight, 2004) and The Great British Class Survey (BBC, 2013a; BBC 2013b; Savage *et*

al, 2013) prove to be the most insightful and interesting contemporary analyses of class designation⁴¹.

The Goldthorpe Class Schema, sometimes known as the Comparative Analysis of Social Mobility in Industrial Nations (CASMIM) schema, is recognised as one of the most widely used class schemas in Europe and Northern America (Oesch, 2003: 241). The primary distinctions made in this class schema are those between ‘employers’, ‘self-employed’ and ‘employed’. The differences in class are thus predominantly based on occupational positions and the type of employment relationships (by way of employment regulations)⁴² experienced by individuals. The Goldthorpe Class Schema outlines seven occupational classes, applying a specific roman numeral to each class as an identifier:

Table 2.1. The Goldthorpe Class Schema

I	Professional, administrative and managerial employees (higher grade)
II	Professional, administrative and managerial employees (lower grade), technicians (higher grade)
IIIa	Routine non-manual employees (higher grade)
IV	Small employers and self-employed workers
V	Supervisors of manual workers; technicians (lower grade)
VI	Skilled manual workers
IIIb	Routine non-manual workers (lower grade)
VII	Semi- and unskilled manual workers

Source: Goldthorpe and McKnight (2004: 2)

While the Goldthorpe Class Schema is quite popular among researchers, it is not without criticism. Most of the critique levelled at this schema is due to its separation of the economic

⁴¹ These class analyses in particular may offer salient measures of class for the South African context – with modifications of course. Since the Great British Class Survey is still (arguably) new in terms of class analysis; it would be interesting to see what success and critique it finds in the future – perhaps it may be used as a more holistic approach to class categorisation in South Africa.

⁴² These employment regulations can take the form of service relationships, labour contracts, or intermediate/mixed forms of employment regulation (Rose & Pevalin, 2001: 10).

and social dimensions of stratification (Backburn; 1998; Prandy, 1998) and issues regarding validity (Evans & Mills, 2000: 657) due to the recent phenomenon of inflating occupational titles (Breen, 2005: 52).

Analysing the largest survey of social class ever carried out in the United Kingdom⁴³, Savage *et al* (2013: 219) developed a novel way of measuring class via The Great British Class Survey (BBC New, 2013a). Initiated by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC), Mike Savage, Fiona Devine and their colleagues in 2011; the findings of The Great British Survey occasioned the identification of a new model of class accompanied by seven new categories of class (as demonstrated in the table below):

Table 2.2. The ‘Great British Survey’ Class Schema

New Class Categories	Description of Class
<i>Elite</i>	“This is the most privileged class who have high levels of all three capitals. Their high amount of economic capital sets them apart from everyone else”
<i>Established Middle Class</i>	“Members of this class have high levels of all three capitals although not as high as the Elite”
<i>Technical Middle Class</i>	“A new, small class with high economic capital but seem less culturally engaged. They have relatively few social contacts and so are less socially engaged”
<i>New Affluent Workers</i>	This class “has medium levels of economic capital and higher levels of cultural and social capital”
<i>Emergent Service Workers</i>	“This new class has low economic capital but has high levels of 'emerging' cultural capital and high social capital”
<i>Traditional Working Class</i>	“This class scores low on all forms of the three capitals although they are not the poorest group”

⁴³ There were 161 400 web respondents for the survey.

<i>Precariat</i>	“This is the most deprived class of all with low levels of economic, cultural and social capital”
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Source: BBC News (2013a)

Based on Bourdieu’s notions of capital (human, social and economic), this survey integrated questions about respondents’ income and savings (economic capital), their cultural interests and activities (cultural capital), and the number and status of people they knew (social capital) (BBC News, 2013a). According to the principal investigators, Savage and Devine, the data allowed them to understand their measures of “economic, cultural and social capital in the context of other important aspects of people’s lives” (BBC News, 2013b). Moreover, the new class model recognises “both social polarisation in British society and class fragmentation in its middle layers” (Savage *et al*, 2013: 219).

2.2.4 Poverty and Class Mobility

Theories as to why some are able to move out of poverty⁴⁴ while others remain trapped in chronic poverty are still in early development (Narayan & Petesch, 2007: 1). Notwithstanding other sources of poverty, social exclusion is thought to vigorously and directly produce the phenomenon (Tilly, 2007a: 58) and set challenging barriers to movement out of poverty (Munck, 2005). When researching the inheritance of inequality or poverty, Erikson and Goldthorpe (2002: 31) emphasise that there is a difference (although not absolute) between the approaches undertaken by economists and sociologists. Whereas economists are inclined to focus on the intergenerational diffusion of wealth or income, sociologists tend to examine intergenerational mobility between (and within) different class positions (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2002: 31).

According to Fields (2000) there are five methods sociologists typically use to identify mobility outcomes: 1) the extent to which a person’s position in the past determines their current position, 2) a person’s change in income relative to others, 3) the positional movement of an individual in terms of income distribution, 4) the scale of a person’s movement across an income distribution, and 5) the directional movement (upwards or downwards) within the income distribution. Butler, Beach and Winfree (2008: 2 - 3) write

⁴⁴ Poverty is seen as a person’s “inability to consume enough to fulfil basic preferences or needs” (Narayan & Petesch, 2007: 4).

that mobility between classes can be understood as changes in class between one generation and the next (intergenerational), changes in one's class during one's lifetime (intragenerational), the changes in class for a person compared to a previous point in time (absolute), or how a person changes class in relation to other people (relative). Bok (1996) distinguishes between two forms of mobility that may also support the 'prospect' of mobility between classes: *structural mobility* (an increase in the supply of opportunities in society) and *circulation mobility* (the equality with which these opportunities are distributed).

Hout and Hauser (1992: 239) suggest that the Comparative Analysis of Mobility in Industrial Nations (CASMIN) proposed by Erikson and Goldthorpe⁴⁵ has demonstrated that public policies (that enhance or restrict opportunities) bring about the relationship between social origins and destinations. That is to say that public policy affects social mobility. While it has become somewhat a priori knowledge that parents' class and education has a significant influence on the direction of mobility between classes, thereby establishing the theory that class of origin can affect class of destination, there are other equally important determinants of movement.

Bowles and Gintis (2002: 19) found that the intergenerational transmission of economic status is not only dependent on parents' income and wealth, but on the non-skill factors of group membership and personality. The influence of personality is evident in attitudes towards the role of government policies in reducing poverty. Specifically Bowles and Gintis (2002: 3) state that feelings towards redistribution are contingent on an individual's perception as to why the 'rich are rich and the poor are poor'. For example, those that believe that success is dependent on 'hard work' tend to oppose redistributive programs versus those that believe it is as a result of 'financial inheritance' or 'knowing the right people' (Fong, 2001; Fong, Bowles & Gintis, 2002).

Wong (2011: 181) has found that emotion could have a role in the processes that generate mobility and suggests that, like Elster (2007), one should examine the emotive aspects of social mobility and class. Among the personality traits that are thought to influence mobility are dispositions of self-efficacy and work ethic (Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 20). This is somewhat comparable to Saunderson's (2002: 559) meritocratic views on mobility: recruitment

⁴⁵ See Erikson and Goldthorpe (1987a, 1987b & 1992).

into social classes, and occupational attainment, is primarily based on a person's ability and effort⁴⁶.

In an attempt to better understand the racial/ethnic differences in wealth amongst Blacks, Whites and Hispanics in the United States of America, Mossakowski (2012) examined the psychological dispositions (expressed through LOC and self-esteem) of these three racial groups as they transitioned from the life stages of *young adulthood* to *midlife*. This was done as opposed to measuring the typical indicators of wealth⁴⁷ so as to determine whether or not social psychological resources play an equally fundamental role in the upward socioeconomic mobility of ethnic minorities. Mossakowski (2012:728) consequently found that:

“Having a stronger sense of personal control over life and higher self-esteem significantly increases the odds of achieving positive net worth and homeownership, independent of demographics, educational attainment, current employment, income and the socioeconomic status of the family of origin”.

Furthermore, it was revealed that an internal locus of control predicted positive net worth and homeownership to a greater extent among Whites than Blacks, notwithstanding the fact that Blacks and Hispanics were reported as having higher levels of self-esteem (Mossakowski, 2012: 742). Mossakowski's (2012) findings on locus of control echo those of Cebi (2007) and Caliendo, Cobb-Clark and Uhlendorff (2010)⁴⁸ who found that those who perceived more control over their lives were more likely to earn higher incomes in the labour market. Consistent with beliefs that psychological dispositions can affect mobility, Grove (2005a) studied the intergenerational persistence of fatalism (likewise measured through LOC) and its effect on economic success. What she found was that: a) parents and their children tend to express corresponding scores on the Rotter Scale, and b) an individual's score on the Rotter Scale before entry into the labour market had a considerable impact on his earnings (Osborne Grove, 2005a).

⁴⁶ Saunder's (1995) meritocracy viewpoint on mobility has sparked severe critique from his peers (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1999; Marshall & Swift, 1996).

⁴⁷ These indicators, according to Mossakowski (2012: 729, 743), are net worth, homeownership, current employment status, level of education, income and family background (in terms of the socioeconomic status of the family of origin).

⁴⁸ In their study of recently unemployed individuals in Germany.

Further exploration of the psychological dimensions of mobility is found in the *Moving Out of Poverty* series of the World Bank. It is through the research undertaken in the series that Narayan, Pritchett and Kapoor (2009: 171) found that “psychological self-efficacy is often the most important precursor to action” that affects movement out of poverty. Moreover, personal agency and aspirations were shown to be vital in escaping poverty (Narayan, Pritchett & Kapoor, 2009: 171). While one cannot deny the importance of structural determinants of mobility, it is clear that psychological dimensions play an equally important role. A combined analysis of both the psychological and structural influences of wealth attainment will thus undoubtedly improve one’s understanding of the dynamics of movement in a stratified class system (Mortimer, 1996; Kerckhoff, 1989).

2.2.4.1 Durable Inequality and Poverty Traps

Despite the political and social freedoms facilitated in democratic South Africa, Keswell (2000: 4) argues that new legislature offers little assistance in delivering economic freedoms due to the mutually reinforcing phenomena of *poverty traps*⁴⁹ and *wealth inequality*. Poverty traps refer to any “pervasive inequalities in economic, political, and social opportunities that combine and persist over time to keep people poor” (Narayan & Petesch, 2007: 13). Specifically, those classified as poor in South Africa (the majority of whom are Black) are trapped in their poverty due to previous and existing wealth inequalities (Keswell, 2000: 4). The case Keswell (2000) makes above are part and parcel to the *threshold effects* described by Bowles, Durlauf and Hoff (2006) that contribute towards poverty traps. Bowles, Durlauf and Hoff (2006: 5) also list *institutions* as a means of upholding poverty by way of protecting a small elite and generating insecure property.

Another mechanism through which poverty (or stagnation in economic status) might be perpetuated is through group-level influences on individuals: the *neighbourhood effect* (Durlauf, 2006: 141). Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005: 207) argue that social stratification has become spacialised, a contention that could help explain the clustering of people with similar class locations into ‘neighbourhoods’, a basis for the *neighbourhood effect*:

⁴⁹ A poverty trap is also seen as “any self-reinforcing mechanism which causes poverty to persist” (Azariadis & Stachurski, 2005: 325).

“One’s residence is a crucial, possibly the crucial identifier of who you are. The sorting processes by which people chose to live in certain places and others leave is at the heart of contemporary battles over social distinction. Rather than seeing wider social identities as arising out of the field of employment it would be more promising to examine their relationship to residential location.”

The theory of poverty traps complements that of Tilly’s (1998) theory of durable inequality whereby inequalities are considered to be innately ‘relational and categorical’⁵⁰. In *Durable Inequality* (1998) social inequality is explained as a consequence of the “presence of social group differences and the unequal power relations between groups” (Narayan & Petesch, 2007: 7). Tilly asserts that there are four processes that generate durable (perpetuated) inequality: ‘exploitation’, ‘opportunity hoarding’, ‘emulation’, and ‘adaption’. ‘Exploitation’ in this sense describes the imbalanced control of resources (typically economic benefits) by the elite who not only exclude others from access to these resources, but utilise their labour to their own advantage and the detriment of the exploited. This can be achieved through “legislation, work rules, and outright repression” (Voss, 2010: 369). ‘Opportunity hoarding’ refers to the restriction of resources by a “categorically based network” from others “in the in-group” (Vos, 2010: 369). Tilly’s (1998) process of ‘emulation’ is one “in which established organizational models are copied in new settings” while ‘adaptation’ refers to “the creation of everyday procedures and practices that people use to cope with and so reproduce the categorical distinctions in their daily interactions” (Voss, 2010: 369 – 370). Just as poverty traps are evident in contemporary South Africa (Adato, Carter & May, 2006; May & Woolard, 2007; Van der Berg *et al*, 2011z) so too is the presence of durable inequality processes to a large extent.

2.2.5 The Importance of the Middle Class⁵¹

The central thesis of Moore’s (1966) *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* is that without a bourgeoisie, there can be no democracy. In this instance the bourgeoisie are considered to be those belonging to the middle class. Moore’s premise has been proven accurate over the years as it has been revealed that with an increase in the size of the middle

⁵⁰ Inequality is categorical in that it correlates with rigid social discriminators (such as race).

⁵¹ Wright defines the middle classes as those who occupy contradictory class locations: they are both the exploited and the exploiters (Polák, 2013: 34). The middle class are also seen by some as those who are positioned within the midpoint between the lower class and upper class. Others view the middle class as being an ambiguous, relative and subjective location that is difficult to define (Cashell, 2007).

class in a society, “the quality of governance regarding democratic participation and official corruption improves” (Loayza, Rigolini & Llorente, 2012: 9). Furthermore, an increase in the magnitude of the middle class similarly enhances “social policy on health and education” (Loayza, Rigolini & Llorente, 2012: 9).

In their analysis of self-perceived class and the links between class and values, Amoranto, Chun and Deolalikar (2010: 18) discovered that those that perceive themselves to belong to the middle class are on average more politically active than those in either the lower or upper classes. Moreover, those that consider themselves as middle class convey values that are more likely to contribute to economic growth than those of the lower class (Amoranto, Chun & Deolalikar, 2010: 11). This is sustained by Ali and Dadush (2012) who assert that “a large middle class is associated with greater political awareness, desire for more accountable and representative government, and even demand for free market”.

2.3 Exploring the Concept of Race in South Africa

“When men perceive oppression as their lot and know of others not oppressed, when ordered avenues of change are blocked by kings or legislators or some vague variety of any social system, the oppressed will resign themselves to fate or rise up to taste the fruit of freedom, and having tasted will want the feast” (Wolfgang, 1970: 318).

Since the end of apartheid⁵² and South Africa’s transition to democracy in 1994, there have been many improvements in the country’s socioeconomic landscape – yet poverty and inequality remain high and heavily correlated with race (Simkins, 2011: 107). According to Moore (2008: 493) race and class stratification have been intertwined since the creation of the modern idea of race. This forerunning link between class and race would explain why Statistics South Africa (2009: 1) found that, in terms of the middle class of South Africa, approximately 85% of white households were middle class yet “almost no rural African households had a middle-class standard of living”. The class make-up of South Africa is disproportionate when one takes into account the fact that the minority are better-off (in terms of class) than the majority.

⁵² Apartheid was a legalised and enforced policy of racial and ethnic discrimination in South Africa from 1948 to 1994, under the rule of the National Party. Derived from the Dutch language, the Afrikaans word apartheid meant ‘separate’ or ‘apartness’.

2.3.1 South Africa; the Colony

When looking back on the past 360 years of history in South Africa⁵³, Terreblanche (2005) writes that inequality has been entrenched in Southern African society ever since its days as a British colony. Throughout the many conflicts and wars in South Africa, a pattern has evolved whereby the victors have either been colonial masters (during the period of colonialism and imperialism) or local whites (in the post-colonial era) who were descendants of settlers – these victors ever being in a position to enrich themselves at the expense of ‘indigenous’ people. Terreblanche (2005) asserts that three systems (undertaken by the colonial powers and white colonists) have allowed these groups of people the ability to maintain their positions as subjugators from the mid-17th until the late 20th century:

“[...] firstly, by creating political and economic power structures that put them in a privileged and entrenched position *vis-à-vis* the indigenous population groups; secondly, by depriving indigenous people of land, surface water, and cattle; and, thirdly, by reducing slaves and indigenous people to different forms of unfree and exploitable labour” (Terreblanche, 2005: 6)

This is a premise reinforced by Tilly (2007b: 121) who argues that the apartheid government “inscribed categorical inequality directly into public politics” – a consequence of the modification, and fortifying, of categorical differences created by South Africa’s previous political administrations. In light of this, Terreblanche (2005: 6) asserts that any study of South African history necessitates that one analyse the perspectives of “white political and economic domination”, “land deprivation” and “unfree black labour” – all of which pertain to unequal power relations.

2.3.2 The Apartheid Government and Racial Discrimination

When attempting to examine the nature and magnitude of social inequality on the basis of race, Stewart and Sewell (2011: 210 - 213) suggest utilising three interconnected theories of racial inequality, namely *resources*, *behaviour* and *structure*. The *resource* based theory proposes that inequality exists as a result of one group having more important resources (dependent on factors like human capital, social capital, and access to important services) than another, the consequence of which is a perpetual cycle where those who have important

⁵³ To say 360 years of history in South Africa is admittedly erroneous, and is used in this instance primarily to demarcate the country geographically. It must be noted that the Republic of South Africa only came into being in 1961 (its predecessor having been the Union of South Africa from 1910).

resources are able to achieve higher outcomes than those who do not. The *behaviour* theory on the other hand asserts that group-specific traits or sets of behaviour explain disparities in group outcomes, a theory that was supported by McWhorter (2000) and Ogbu and Davis (2003). *Structural* theory relates to the uneven effects of institutional arrangements and social networks across racial groups that produce racial differences in outcomes⁵⁴. While all three theories interlink to form a general explanation of racially grounded disparities, the systematic disparate treatment of actors according to their race is seen as arguably the most significant source of racial inequality.

The system of apartheid in South Africa is a salient exemplar of the methodical disparate treatment of individuals based on their race. Apartheid was a “legally enforced policy to promote the political, social and cultural separation of racially defined communities” (Christopher, 1994: 1) to the advantage of the dominant White population. Consequently, under this system, all social relations were structured according to race (Parekh, 2008: 25). The social exclusion of non-White South Africans meant that, simply due to their racial/ethnic identities, particular groups were unable to “fulfil their potential” or “participate equally in society” (DFID, 2005: 5) – directly leading to the creation of poverty and barriers to class mobility.

The privileged political and economic position of White South Africans was kept in place through the implementation of a number of laws which were “constantly amended and extended to remove any loopholes which might be discovered” (Christopher, 2001: 3). While a few of the laws predated the National Party’s (NP) accession to power in 1948, they were amended to serve new purposes under the NP’s rule in conjunction with the inclusion of completely new enactments (Christopher, 2001: 3):

Table 2.3. Apartheid (Segregation) Legislature

Policy of Segregation, pre-1948		
1911	<u>Mines and Works Act</u>	Restricted skilled jobs in mines and railways to whites.

⁵⁴ Bonna-Silva (2003: 9) defines structural inequality as “the totality of social relations and practices that reinforce white privilege”.

1913	<u>The Natives Land Act</u>	Limited African ownership of land to 7% of South Africa (designated African reserves). Africans were prohibited from owning land outside their region and were allowed to be on white land only if they were working for whites.
1920	<u>Native Affairs Act</u>	Created separate 'tribal'-based administrative structures for Africans in reserves.
1923	<u>Natives (Urban Areas) Act</u>	Established segregated living areas in cities.
1924	<u>Industrial Conciliation Act</u>	Excluded Africans from the definition of employee.
1927	<u>Native Administration Act</u>	Consolidated all policies dealing with Africans under one government (Native Affairs).
1936	<u>Representation of Voters Act</u>	Abolished Cape African franchise weakened the political rights for Africans in some regions and permitted them to vote only for white representatives.
Implementing Apartheid, post-1948		
1949	<u>The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act</u>	Prohibited marriages between white people and people of other races.
1950	<u>The Immorality Amendment Act</u>	Sexual relations were prohibited between black and white South Africans.
1950	<u>The Population Registration Act</u>	Classified people into three racial groups: white, coloured (mixed race or Asian), and native (African/black).

1950	<u>The Group Areas Act</u>	Set aside specific communities for each of the races (white, coloured, and native). The best areas and the majority of the land are reserved for whites. Non-whites are relocated into "reserves." Mixed-race families are forced to live separately
1952	<u>The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Act</u>	All black Africans over the age of 16 years were required to carry a passbook at all times.
1953	<u>The Bantu Education Act</u>	Established black education departments and a curriculum specifically for black students that matched 'the nature and requirements of the black people': namely as manual labourers and domestic workers.
1953	<u>The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act</u>	Segregated all public amenities, public buildings and public transport according to race.
1954	<u>Natives Resettlement Act</u>	Granted powers to the government to remove Africans from any area within and next to the magisterial district of Johannesburg.
1954	<u>Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act</u>	Authorised the Minister of Justice to "prohibit any particular gathering or gatherings, in a public space for specified periods".
1956	<u>Natives (prohibition of Interdicts Act)</u>	Black Africans no longer had the right "to apply for court protection by means of an interdict or any legal process against any draconian laws imposed on them by the government"

1956	<u>Riotous Assemblies Act</u>	Gatherings in open-air public places were prohibited by the Minister of Justice if he deemed them a danger to public peace.
1959	<u>The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act</u>	Aimed for the transformation of existing reserves into independent Bantu Homelands, and in so doing deprive Blacks of their South African citizenships.

Source: Constructed from information from Apartheid Museum (2008), Durrheim, Mtose, and Brown (2011), Welsh and Spence (2011), Clark and Worger (2011), SAHO (2013).

2.3.3 Class Stratification as a Racial Inheritance?

Racially centred repression and discrimination, institutionalised and maintained by both the colonial and apartheid political systems, have resulted in a racially divided and unequal contemporary South African society. The “enduring effects of the racialization of society under apartheid” (Seekings & Natrass, 2002: 26) has given rise to a recognizable racial dimension to affluence in South Africa.

Terreblanche (2005: 11 – 14) describes eight unfree labour⁵⁵ patterns established in Southern Africa since 1652 that led to the eventual structural unemployment and economic bondage experienced by the majority of Africans today. The first of these patterns is that of slavery up until its abolishment in 1838, followed by another system of direct forced labour (the second pattern) whereby Khoi-Khoi or San children and African children were indentured to the households of Trekboere (18th century) and Voortrekkers (19th century) respectively.

The third of these patterns took place between 1809 and 1828 when a system of compulsory serfdom (indentured labour) was applied to almost all Khoi-Khoi and San by Lord Caledon through the ‘Caledon Proclamation’ of 1809⁵⁶. The fourth pattern, and the first version of

⁵⁵ Unfree labour is a term used to refer to “those work relations, especially in modern or early modern history, where people are employed against their will due to the threat of destitution, detention, violence or other extreme hardship” (USLegal, 2012). Bush (2000) recognises five forms of unfree labour: *slavery*, *serfdom*, *indentured servitude*, *debt bondage* and *penal servitude*. McGrath (2005) adapts and expands Bush’s (2000) list to include the categories of *chattel slavery*, *state coordinated unfree labour*, *trafficked labour* and *tributary labour*.

⁵⁶ The Caledon Proclamation was abolished through Proclamation 50 at the request of humanitarian missionaries in 1828 (Terreblanche, 2005: 11).

black labour repression, was an indirect coercive system of contract labour. At the request of British settlers a system was implemented from 1841 to 1974 that established coloureds and Africans as cheap contract workers in the agricultural sector – a design that was reinforced through pass laws and influx control measures. Indirect enforced contract labour followed on from this as the fifth pattern until 1972, the upshot of turning Africans still living in native reserves into cheap migrant labour for the gold mining industry.

From the end of the 19th century onwards, discriminatory measures were institutionalised to protect white workers against the competition from cheaper, black workers (a by-product of the proletarianisation of Africans earlier on). Whereas beforehand discriminatory policies were intended to improve the position of poor whites (mainly Afrikaners), this new pattern allowed for the entrenchment of their now privileged positions. The seventh pattern occurred under the ‘native laws’ of Dr. Verwoerd (1952 – 1986) during the apartheid period. Another form of indirect enforced contract labour, this system endeavoured to create cheap migrant labour in the urban manufacturing industries through the employment of Africans still living in ‘homelands’ or ‘Bantustans’. The eighth and final pattern of unfree labour is the growing unemployment of blacks in the formal (since 1960) and informal sectors of the economy – this is seen by Terreblanche (2005: 14) as compulsory structural unemployment and poverty as it is beyond the control of the unemployed, who are still excluded from most of the privileges of democratic capitalism.

It is evident from the above that the correlation between class and race in South Africa is not only a product of apartheid, but due to a long history of oppression and suppression of non-whites by whites. It stands to reason then that the contemporary composition of class in South Africa is, to some degree, a product of the process of racial inheritance. Upward class mobility would thus not only be salient for economic growth in South Africa, but benefit the country in overcoming the seemingly racial inheritance of class. Burger, Burger and van der Berg (2003: 1) are able to contextualise the importance of upward class mobility in South Africa quite succinctly, albeit with their focus point being that of affluent black South Africans⁵⁷:

⁵⁷ Burger, Burger and van der Berg (2003: 5) set the ‘line of affluence’ at R22 500 per year, with the middle class and poor constituting two separate groups within the non-affluent.

“The nature and extent of black affluence in South Africa provides an indicator of the impact of efforts to eradicate the remnants of apartheid-era racial discrimination in the South African education system and labour market.”

Social mobility is important for South Africans and South Africa alike, and it is occurring to some extent – the most notable of which being the increase in the black middle class since 1994, a development which many attribute to the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiatives. That being said, Simkins (2011: 118) advises that there was already a steadily growing black middle class in South Africa before the introduction of BEE by the ANC government.

When analysing class and the antecedents of mobility in South Africa, it is helpful to look at both self-perceived and objective class to achieve a more comprehensive understanding. Utilising data from the 2008 South African Social Attitudes Survey⁵⁸ (SASAS), Roberts (2009) found that subjective class in South Africa was markedly linked to household income, living standards and subjective well-being. According to this research, 38% of South Africans considered themselves as belonging to the lower class, of which merely 26% stated they were currently satisfied with life. While the SASAS report only showed 38% of the populations as belonging to the lower class, Statistics South Africa (2013) reports that about 56.8% of the population are living in poverty – despite the five year gap between statistics, this is still indicative of the disparity between objective and subjective class in South Africa. One has to wonder as to the cause of this disparity?

2.4 An Introduction to the Locus of Control Construct

Developed out of social learning theory (Rotter, 1954; Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972) the psychological construct of locus of control is, in its essence, an attempt at understanding how individuals respond to reinforcements in their lives and the causal relationship they believe to exist between their own behaviour and these reinforcements⁵⁹. Rotter (1966) identifies

⁵⁸ Initiated by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 2003, the SASAS is an annually conducted survey aimed at analysing changes in South Africa’s “institutions, its political and economic structures, and the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns” (HSRC, 2012) of the South African population. It is nationally representative, involving 3500 – 7000 respondents above the age of 16. More information about the survey and its research outputs can be found at: <http://www.hsrc.ac.za>.

⁵⁹ The first attempt to measure individual differences in generalised expectancy or perceived control was begun by Phares (1957); this was then followed by James (1957). However the most prominent and broad attempt at

reinforcements as the means by which *expectancies* are developed or strengthened. That is to say that if one were to behave in a particular manner in a given situation, and reinforcement – whether negative or positive – were to follow this behaviour or event, the *expectancy* that this reinforcement would likely follow the same behaviour or event in the future is consolidated. Conversely, it is asserted that should this reinforcement fail to occur once a “behaviour-reinforcement sequence is built up” (Rotter, 1966: 2), the absence will result in diminished or complete loss in expectancy⁶⁰.

It has similarly been noted that, aside from the occurrence or absence of reinforcements influencing expectancies, an individual’s belief in whether or not reinforcement is dependent on their own actions is also an important factor in the strengthening or reduction of expectancies. The perception of a life situation as being either skill determined, or chance affected, therefore plays a significant role in the type of behaviour-reinforcement sequence that is established. The nature of the sequence created is measured on an Internal-External continuum, where those who feel they have more control over outcomes are seen as more internal (Internalisers) and those who perceive less control are recognised as being more external (Externalisers). Rotter (1966: 20) argues that, because the Internal-External continuum (or scale) deals with perceptions of control, it appears to be the psychological equivalent of the sociological concept of alienation (in the sense of powerlessness).

In order to test for perceptions of control, Rotter, Liverant and Crowne (1961) developed a LOC scale based on a 26-item, forced-choice test⁶¹ that dealt exclusively with an individual’s belief about the nature of the world – the generalised expectancy of which would indicate the value the individual placed on internal control. None of the items in the test dealt with

analysing these differences was jointly undertaken by Rotter, Seeman and Liverant (Rotter, 1966: 9). It was Rotter who made the construct famous.

⁶⁰ One should be aware of the fact that expectancies in a situation are determined “not only by specific experiences in that situation but also, to some varying extent, by experiences in other situations that the individual perceives as similar” (Rotter, 1975: 57).

⁶¹ A forced-choice questionnaire (See Appendix A), rather than a Likert format, was used in order to control for social desirability. While the forced-choice questionnaire is indeed efficient at eliminating correlation with the Marlowe-Crowne social desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), Ashkanasy (1985: 1338) asserts that a Likert version would have offered advantages in terms of the questionnaire’s item clarity and factor interpretability.

preferences for either internal or external control, and six filler items (included in the 26-item test) were utilised in order to make the objective of the test more ambiguous.

2.4.1 Locus of Control and its Theoretical Parallels

In social learning theory (from which LOC was advanced) one finds four classes of variables, namely: behaviours, expectancies, reinforcements, and psychological situations. According to Rotter (1975: 57), the basic formula for behaviour can be found in the combination of these variables so that the “*potential for a behaviour to occur in any psychological situation is the function of the expectancy that the behaviour will lead to a particular reinforcement in that situation*” as well as the value of that reinforcement (that is to say the positive or negative nature of the reinforcement). Notwithstanding pure LOC theory, there exists a variety of parallel theories that similarly deal with an individual’s control (or lack thereof), the influence this has on their behaviour, as well as their subsequent expectations of control.

2.4.1.1 Learned Helplessness

Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1995: 8) employ the theory of *learned helplessness* in an attempt to explain why an individual’s experience with an uncontrollable event acts as a catalyst to the expectation that events in the future will similarly escape control. According to these authors, one is able to find three core components within learned helplessness: *contingency* (the relationship between an individual’s action and the outcomes he then expects), *cognition* (the way in which an individual then perceives, explains and rationalises the contingency) and *behaviour* (the consequences of non-contingency and the individual’s cognitions about it). Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1995) warn that in order to have a true case of learned helplessness, and to avoid theoretical ambiguity, all three of the above mentioned components must be present. Namely, a case of true learned helplessness should have “non-contingency between the person’s actions and outcomes, the expectation that the outcome will not be contingent in the future, and passive behaviour” (Peterson, Maier & Seligman, 1995: 9).

Studies of learned helplessness have shown that: a) those who experience uncontrollability experience negative emotions like anxiety, depression, and anger – this is in relation to those who experience controllability, b) over time the effect goes away – although the exact amount of time is as yet unknown, c) there are instances of ‘vicarious’ learning – people learn

to be helpless through the observation of another person undergoing uncontrollable events, d) helplessness is observed at the group level to the extent that one may consider entire cultures and societies as helpless (Brown & Inouye, 1978; Simkin, Lederer, & Seligman, 1983; Young & Allin, 1986; Breier *et al*, 1987; Peterson, Maier & Seligman, 1995).

2.4.1.2 Psychological Reactance

Reactance, first posited by Brehm (1966), refers to the motivational state of individuals in situations when their perceived or real personal freedoms are threatened, reduced or eliminated (Brehm, 1972; Woller, Buboltz & Loveland, 2007) – that is when an individual loses personal control over an outcome. It is under this condition that individuals become motivated to restore their freedom or choice⁶², sometimes through aggression towards the individual who took their personal freedom away or by vicariously living through others (Brehm, 1966, Brehm & Brehm, 1981). Psychological reactance is, for all intents and purposes, often seen as a contrasting theory to that of helplessness.

The above being said, Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1995: 123) assert that, when faced with uncontrollable events, individuals tend to resort to helplessness rather than reactance, although it is maintained that this is dependent on the amount of experience an individual has with uncontrollability (Wortman & Brehm, 1975). In general it seems as though those who are highly reactant tend to be more concerned about personal control as well as more distrustful of others (Woller, Buboltz & Loveland, 2007: 16). One similarly finds that highly reactant individuals often value the restricted freedom more than the non-restricted in what Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1995: 121) call an “exaggeration of the attractiveness of the denied choice”.

2.4.1.3 Attribution Theory

Another possible explanation for an individual’s behaviour when confronted with an uncontrollable event is *attributional egotism*. Snyder, Stephan & Rosenfield (1976) define egotism as the tendency for an individual to ascribe positive attributes to themselves as opposed to negative characteristics. For example, an individual who scores highly on a test

⁶² The magnitude of an individual’s reactance is dependent on, a) the strength of the threat, b) the importance of the threatened freedom, c) the initial expectation of freedom, and d) whether or not the threat could hold for other freedoms too (Laurin, Kay & Fitzsimons, 2012; Silvia, 2005).

will credit the success to their own skills but when this same individual achieves poorly it will be ascribed as the result of bad luck, or a lack of effort on his part, rather than an inability. Perceptions of control consequently shift from internalised to externalised dependent on the outcome of an event. Attributional egotism therefore acts as a means of deflection in order to circumvent any ego-threatening attributions – in which case learned helplessness is seen as a “way of sustaining self-esteem in the wake of failure” (Peterson, Maier & Seligman, 1995: 128).

2.4.1.4 Primary and Secondary Control

Primary control is defined by Rothbaum, Weisz and Snyder (1982) as an individual’s ability to change an environment to suit his/ her wishes, whereas *secondary control* is seen as an individual’s ability to bring him/ herself into line with the environment. Ordinarily when faced with an uncontrollable situation an individual will first try and exert primary control over the environment and then, failing any influence, will resort to secondary control. Secondary control can further be described in three forms: predictive secondary control, illusionary secondary control, and vicarious secondary control (Peterson, Maier & Seligman, 1995: 137). Predictive control relates to an individual’s ability to expect adverse events and in so doing, avoid disappointment⁶³. When individuals align themselves with fate (or luck) they are exerting illusionary control. Vicarious control is similar to that of illusionary control with the exception that individuals instead associate with powerful groups (such as specific professions) or individuals (like religious leaders or politicians) in place of fate.

2.4.2 Critique and Employment of Locus of Control Scales

Most appraisals of LOC are not so much of the conceptualisation of control, but rather the dimensionality and measures of the construct. In fact, LOC has become one of the most widely used concepts within psychology – not to mention other research fields within the social sciences. The three primary methodological issues with LOC according to Furnham and Steele (1993: 449 - 451) are: dimensionality, outcome valence, and domain specificity.

⁶³ Peterson, Maier and Seligman (1995: 137) state that predictive control is similar to Norem and Cantor’s (1986) defensive pessimism in that it entails an individual continually reducing their own accomplishments and skills.

Excluding the numerous alterations to dimensionality that are the consequence of factor analyses; one of two particularly significant alterations to Rotter's (1966) LOC scale is usually made – based on the work of either Levenson (1981) or O'Brien (1981). Levenson (1981) found that by distinguishing between those who believed in powerful others (where there is potential for control) and those who believe in luck (no possibility of control) he could improve upon the dimensional inadequacies of the Internal-External scale. In so doing he developed the three dimensional Internal, Powerful Others, and Chance (IPC) scale. O'Brien (1981) on the other hand, felt that further improvement to the dimensionality of LOC should entail the inclusion of four dimensions, namely internals (express internalised control across all situations), realists (whose perceptions of control alter according to situations), structuralists (express externalised control that is interceded by societal determinants), and fatalists (where all outcomes are believed to be as a result of luck, fate or chance)⁶⁴.

The valence of LOC beliefs are seen as being either positive or negative – yet some would argue that alterations need to be made to the LOC scale in order to avoid perceptions of control being differentially measured in instances where a negative outcome is (preferably) avoided (Gregory, 1978; Brewin & Shapiro, 1984; Furnham & Steele, 1993). In terms of domain specificity, the majority of critics prefer to develop a questionnaire (measure of control) that is specific to a very focused range of behaviours. This is not a reflection on the validity of Rotter's (1966) generalised LOC construct, rather an indication of their particular domain of interest.

2.4.3 The Employment of LOC

Rotter (1966: 2) hypothesises that “a generalised attitude, belief, or expectancy regarding the nature of the casual relationship between one's own behaviour and its consequences might affect a variety of behavioural choices in a broad band of life situations”. It is perhaps for this reason that one finds so many sub-concepts and sub-scales of locus of control being employed in literature. The LOC construct has been used to describe individual differences as varied as post-stress outcomes (Frazier *et al*, 2011), unemployment history and earning capacity (Semykina & Linz, 2007; Osborne Groves, 2005b; Cobb-Clark & Schurer, 2011;), coping mechanisms with death (Specht, Egloff & Schmukle, 2011), planned organisational

⁶⁴ Fournier and Jeanrie (1999) suggest the use of a five-level LOC scale that includes the following belief types: defeatist, dependence, prescriptive, self-responsibility, and proactive.

change (Kormanik & Rocco, 2009), fluctuations in the measurement of cerebral activity (Konareva, 2012) and academic achievement according to socioeconomic classes (Bartel, 1971).

Individuals who have a need (or high motivation) for achievement are often thought to have some belief in their ability or skill to determine the outcome of their efforts - an aspect that Rotter (1966: 3) considered to bear some relationship to the belief in internal-external control of reinforcements. Even so, Rotter (1966) realised that this relationship was most likely not a linear one and while an Internaliser could display a high motivation for achievement, another Internaliser could just as easily have a low need for achievement. In light of this, academics have found that an improvement in self-efficacy (in terms of internalised control) can positively affect academic achievement amongst students (Ghonsooly & Elahi, 2010). Academic achievement (education) has also been linked to an Economic LOC insofar as human capital investment is concerned. Coleman and DeLeire (2003: 3) found indications that LOC influenced education decisions among teenagers to the extent that it operated on their expectation of “returns to human capital investments”.

In their study of the intra-individual variability of control beliefs and cognitive performance in older adults⁶⁵, Neupert and Allaire (2012: 1) discovered that control beliefs fluctuated within people across time. This suggested that LOC and competence could not be measured solely as “stable trait-like constructs, but as state-like characteristics susceptible to the context and domain-specific influences” (Neupert & Allaire, 2012: 5). It is for this reason that many academics have often appreciated various dimension-specific control measures; identifying scales as being either Health-related, Work-related, Economic-related, Vocation-related or General locus of control measures.

In an attempt at understanding inter-individual variability of perceived control Infurna *et al* (2011: 569) discovered that perceptions of control were embedded in various systems of influence, each operating as long-term antecedents of control beliefs. In predicting internalised control⁶⁶, they maintain that individuals who have a more favourable appraisal of their health actively participate within social networks, and express higher levels of life

⁶⁵ Neupert and Allaire (2012: 2) recruited participants between the ages of 61 to 87 years from local senior centres.

⁶⁶ Infurna *et al* (2011: 559 - 575) conceptualise internalised control as “more perceived control”.

satisfaction tend to have more perceived control than others (Bandura, 1997; Lin, 2001; Lyubomirsky, King & Diener, 2005; Lachman, Rosnick & Röcke, 2009). They also found that “younger age, more education, income⁶⁷, and being a male⁶⁸” (Infurna *et al*, 2011: 570) were each predictive of a more internalised LOC⁶⁹. With the above in mind, it is reasonable to expect that the more perceived control a person exercises over their life, the happier they will be. One could similarly argue that if a person feels that they are in good health, they are less likely to identify external constraints in addition to feeling more motivated to maintain their good health through positive health behaviour.

The incidence of the latter relates directly to a scale described as a Health LOC (Wallston, 1992) which evaluates the extent to which the individual believes he is able to influence his health by modifying behaviour⁷⁰. Among the list of health-related behaviours that are influenced by Health LOC are diet and obesity (Saltzer, 1982; Stotland & Zuroff, 1990), smoking (Georgiou & Bradley, 1992), physical activity (Blaxter, 1990; Whitehead, 1992), and alcohol consumption (Donovan & O’Leary, 1978; Worrell & Timility, 1981). These are all considered personal factors however, and Lindström (2011: 4) advises that one look at the social dynamics⁷¹ that similarly influence health-related behaviour⁷².

⁶⁷ Franklin (1963) also discovered a significant relationship between internality and higher socioeconomic class.

⁶⁸ It is interesting to note here that Strickland and Haley (1980: 937) found that males and females answer substantial numbers of items on the Rotter scale differently from each other, suggesting that factors on Rotter’s internal-external scale may have different meanings according to the respondent’s gender.

⁶⁹ The understanding behind this is that: a) older adults have more experiences related to control (declining health and the loss or death of friends and family members for instance) that only increase with age, “creating and amplifying the impression of constraints and powerlessness” (Infurna *et al*, 2011: 570), b) a higher level of education and income allow an individual greater access to, and availability of, resources – which Ross and Mirowsky (2002) and Infurna *et al* (2011) believe promote experiences of personal control, and c) the historical disadvantages of females in terms of access to education and work affected the observed gender gap in perceived control, although it is posited that this gap will be minimised over time as more females attain higher education and the landscape of employees changes.

⁷⁰ In this case sociodemographic and psychosocial factors (like memory and depressive symptoms) are reported to play an important role in control-health relations (Infurna, Gerstorf & Zarit, 2011: 9).

⁷¹ The social environment can also influence an individual’s general locus of control. Lefcourt (1982), for example, asserts that a negative and uncontrollable social environment acts as fertile ground for externality.

⁷² Twenge, Zhang and Im (2004: 309) assert that because the larger social environment influences control beliefs; trends that influence LOC will be large and consistent over time. Moreover, Twenge (2000) discovered that birth cohorts often accounted for more variance than was explained by family environment.

Social capital (which entails high civic engagement⁷³, trust between citizens and of institutions, norms of reciprocity and social participation) is believed to reinforce health through a “decrease in psychological and psychosocial stress, more benevolent norms concerning health-related behaviours, increased access to health care, and a decrease in crime rates” (Lindström, 2011: 4). Conversely Kawachi, Kennedy and Glass (1999: 1190) found that individuals who are socially isolated tend to be at an increased risk for poor health outcomes due to their limited access to resources like emotional support⁷⁴ and instrumental aid, a premise that is supported by House, Landis and Umberson (1988) and Marmot (1998). Moreover, it is argued that there are some important caveats in the influence and conceptualisation of social capital, particularly in relation to self-reported health: there are forms of social capital that could stifle individual choice and others that may not be available to all members of a community (Kawachi, Kennedy & Glass, 1999: 1191).

Aside from predictors of internalised control, Infurna *et al* (2011: 569) found that those who attend church or religious events more frequently often associate with more externalised control – a correlation they suggest is due to religious views relating to stronger beliefs in powerful others, and consequently less perceived control. Collins (1974: 381) asserts that an individual may exhibit externality on the LOC scale because he simply believes that; a) the world is difficult, b) the world is unjust, c) the world is governed by luck, or d) the world is politically unresponsive. Another predictor for more externalised control is a low socioeconomic level. Battle and Rotter (1963) found that the perception of limited material opportunities (as seen in low socioeconomic groups) and of powerful others were variables that made for external attitudes. In the same vein, Lefcourt (1982: 146 – 147) affirms that lower socioeconomic status (and the less opportune milieu that accompanies it) and membership in denigrated minority groups generates a climate of fatalism and helplessness that is reflected in highly externalised LOC. This notion may ratify the indication that Externalisers possess negative or a low degree of faith in government (Renshon, 1975: 116).

⁷³ It is interesting to note here that Kawachi, Kennedy and Glass (1999: 1191) found that membership in civic organisations (as an indicator of social capital) was the most weakly associated with self-rated health.

⁷⁴ Emotional (or social) support is seen by House, Umberson and Landis (1998: 293) as one of three social processes through which the social relationships structures of integration and network may have their effects. The other two processes they identify are social regulation and the conflictive aspects of social relationships.

In her analysis of academic achievement amongst lower- and middle-class children, Bartel (1971: 1106) found that school did not have a levelling effect on lower- and middle-class children's perceptions of control. In fact, differences in LOC are not present when a child first enters school but instead becomes more evident as the child progresses through school, signifying that the school situation itself appears to have differential effects for the development of internal control according to the social class of a child. This phenomenon acts as a noteworthy counterpart to the inferences of Kohn (1969: 198) in *Class and Conformity* where he states that:

“The essence of higher class position is the belief that one's decisions and actions can be consequential; the essence of lower class position is the belief that one is at the mercy of forces and peoples beyond one's control, often beyond one's understanding”.

Analysing the association between an individual's socioeconomic class and their LOC may provide much needed insight into the antecedents of social mobility and labour market development in a country⁷⁵. Furnham's (1986) Economic locus of control (a 40-item, Likert scale questionnaire that measures economic and work-related beliefs) provides perhaps the best possible LOC scale pertaining to the singular dimension of economics (Van Dalen, Van Niekerk & Pottas, 1987; Heaven, 1990). Instead of simply referring to either internalised or externalised control, the Economic locus of control (see Table 2) displayed four factors: 1) internal, 2) external, 3) chance, and 4) powerful others. Furnham (1993: 467) found that it was the chance LOC that differentiated between the various demographic groups the most. While for the purposes of this study only the generalised Internal-External scale will be used, it is nonetheless beneficial to have an alternative scale to refer back to when analysing socioeconomic associations with LOC in South Africa.

2.4.4 Understanding the Dimensionality and Nature of the Internal-External Continuum

In his American Psychological Association Award address, Rotter (1990: 489) stated that the heuristic value and success of the LOC construct was due to four characteristics: the precision of its definition; the fact that it was embedded in a broader theory of behaviour; the

⁷⁵ Mueller and Thomas (2000) found that an internal locus of control and innovativeness both act as motivational character traits for entrepreneurship – an activity that serves as an important stimulus for economic growth and technological progress in less developed countries (Harper, 1991).

measurement principles were derived from the same theory as the construct to be measured; and knowledge and dissemination of the LOC construct was achieved through a research monograph. By 1989 Rotter's (1990: 493) monograph on internal-external control had reportedly been cited at least 4 700 times.

Rotter (1975: 56) maintains that along with the increase in research utilising LOC there is a corresponding increase in studies that appear to reflect a basic misunderstanding of the "nature of the variables and measurement devices used to assess individual differences", namely misconceptions in terms of the theoretical nature of LOC as well as measurement related misuses (or exploitations). The first problem concerns references to LOC as the central concept in social learning theory - Rotter (1975: 56) insists that it is not. The initiators of LOC were merely interested in finding a variable that would either correct or refine their predictions of how reinforcements could change expectancies. Second is the conceptual problem that researchers have in treating reinforcement value as a separate variable (an issue that often arises in studies of social action or conformity). Reinforcement value (or valence) needs to either be controlled for or separately measured, yet most researchers are so focused on the perceptions of control (expectancies) that they fail to do this.

The third problem area is that of specific-generalizability whereby generalised expectancies are applied to more structured and unambiguous situations, like predicting achievement (Rotter, 1975: 60) – *generalised* expectancies cannot be used to obtain highly accurate (or *specific*) predictions. Therefore, if one wishes to make expectancy predictions for a specific situation or activity, a new LOC scale should be created. The fourth issue, and a particularly prevalent one at that, is what Rotter (1975: 60) calls the "good guy – bad guy" dichotomy. Many researchers automatically assume that the characteristics of Internalisers are good while the characteristics of Externalisers are bad⁷⁶. Although in some instances this may be the case, the problem arises when one assumes that *all* good things are inherently representative of internals and *all* bad things are inherently representative of externals. Take the noted correlation between self-reported LOC and self-reported anxiety or adjustment for example: while it is clear that an association exists, Internalisers may report lower levels of anxiety (and so establish a positive relationship between internality and adjustment) because they feel the need to repress failures and unpleasant experiences (Phares, 1968; Rotter, 1975).

⁷⁶ This assumption is often made when analysing the correlation between LOC and an individual's adjustment in society.

The scale that is used to measure LOC is often referred to as the Rotter I-E scale in literature despite it being the end-result of the contributions of numerous people. The fifth misconception then is that the final scale was developed solely by Rotter when in fact it was through the invaluable assistance of E.J. Phares, S. Liverant, D. Crowne, W. James, and M. Seeman that it transpired (Rotter, 1975: 62). The sixth issue, which is often approached in an either/ or manner, pertains to the actual measurement of LOC in terms of its unidimensionality versus multidimensionality. Rotter (1975: 63) does not necessarily oppose factor analyses, the use of subscales or conceptualising in terms of sub-concepts; only the notion that these may reveal the “true structure of a concept”. However, if a particular subscale produces a significantly higher relationship than that of the original LOC scale, and exhibits logical predictions at the same time, then it should of course be used in its stead.

Hunthausen *et al* (2003) and Wang, Bowling and Eschleman (2010) found a good illustration of this when their studies showed that a Work-related LOC exhibited stronger relationships with work-related criteria than the general LOC. In fact, Wang, Bowling and Eschleman (2010: 762) affirm that domain-specific measures usually offer better validity than general measures because they reduce *between-subject* variability due to a frame of reference being specified (Bing *et al*, 2004; Holtz, Ployhart & Dominguez, 2005; Lievens, De Corte, & Schollaert, 2008), and are less likely to produce *within-subject* inconsistency, again due to the identification of a particular frame of reference (Lievens, De Corte, & Schollaert, 2008).

The seventh problem arises in the interpretation of the meaning of externality on the LOC scale. For most it stands to reason that an Externaliser would - as a result of a belief in powerful others, luck or fate - behave in a relatively passive or unambitious way. However, it was revealed that some Externalisers behave as Internalisers are predicted to, particularly in competitive achievement skill situations, suggesting that there are two different groups of externals (Rotter, 1975: 64; Hersch & Scheibe, 1976). Rotter (1975: 64 – 65) differentiates between these two groups as being *defensive externals* (those who tend to rationalise in the case of luck, or project blame in the case of powerful others) and *passive externals*^{77,78}. The distinction is argued as useful in terms of the prediction of specific criteria since defensive

⁷⁷ These two groups are also sometimes referred to as *defensive* and *congruent* externals, although Dawkins & Furnham (1989) suggest separating the groups into *low-anxiety externals* and *high-anxiety externals*.

⁷⁸ The differentiation between the two groups was found through the use of an Interpersonal Trust Scale (Hamsher, Geller & Rotter, 1968; Hochreich, 1976).

externals may behave in the same or opposing way as passive externals, dependent on criteria. Rotter (1975: 65) additionally asserts that Levenson's (1981) distinction between belief in powerful others versus belief in chance coincides with that of defensive and passive externals.

Furnham and Steele (1993: 447 - 448) expand Rotter's list of issues to include the fact that researchers should be aware of the possibility that an individual retains two separate and discrete LOC belief systems, one for himself and for others. The individual could likewise maintain multiple LOC belief systems to the extent that he holds a person-specific and situation-specific LOC for himself and others. Parallel to this an individual may hold different control expectancies for both 'long term' and 'short term' events. In addition, Furnham and Steele (1993: 448) ask that researchers view causation and responsibility of an outcome as two separate but related concepts as "moral judgements do not generally have implications for expectancies, only for values". Finally, researchers should be aware of the incidence of self-perpetuating cycles or spirals (Furnham, Sadka & Brewin, 1991) where positive and successful life experiences beget more internal locus of control beliefs through optimistic attribution (the converse would naturally apply to negative experiences) so much so that reciprocity effects come into play⁷⁹.

In reference to the predicative capacity of the I-E scale; Rotter (1966: 25) found significant support for the supposition that Internalisers are most likely to: a) react negatively towards external manipulation⁸⁰, b) be more vigilant of environmental aspects (or cues) that may provide useful information for their future behaviour, c) endeavour to improve their environmental conditions, and d) be more concerned with their abilities and failures. Internalisers are also considered to "be less threatened by, and more tolerant of, people who are different from them" (Strickland, 1977; Duckitt, 1984). Since Externalisers presuppose control from the outside world, they are expected to be less resistive to outside manipulation. Chebat and Filiatrualt (1984: 75) predict Internalisers to be more inclined to accept social and political changes, and that Externalisers would be more affected by an economic crisis. Furthermore, it was discovered that the more novel (or ambiguous) a situation, the more the

⁷⁹ Should this occur it becomes increasingly difficult to determine which experiences affect LOC beliefs the most (Furnham & Steele, 1993: 448).

⁸⁰ Rotter (1966: 23) does make allowances for the fact that Internalisers may not resist conformity pressures should they perceive conformity to be in their best interest.

relative importance of an individual's generalised expectancy of control increases (Rotter, 1975: 57). The inverse also applies where the more experience an individual has with a situation, the more the relative importance of his generalised expectancy decreases.

While Rotter (1966: 4) admits that individuals who fall at either extremes of the Internal-External continuum may essentially be unrealistic⁸¹, that is not to say that those who fall in the middle of the continuum are more realistic. Nevertheless, Rotter (1996: 4) did discover indications that individuals who registered at the extremes were likely to be maladjusted by the majority of definitions. In terms of an individual's experience of success, Internalisers with a history of failure can only blame themselves whereas externality acts as a satisfactory defence against failure for Externalisers (Rotter, 1966: 16). Those who fall on the extreme side of externality however may demonstrate passivity in the face of environmental difficulties, so much so that it suggests maladjustment in society (Rotter, 1966).

2.5 Summary

South Africa has undeniably experienced a long history of social exclusion based on race. Buttressed by the discriminatory racial policies of the apartheid government, this enduring social exclusion has in turn affected a phenomenon whereby class has become (to some extent) a racial inheritance for contemporary South Africans. This social exclusion has additionally resulted in widespread poverty traps for the majority of non-White South Africans – the likelihood of which having been affirmed by Tilly (2007a). Poverty traps, the racial element to class divisions and the spacialisation of class in contemporary South Africa (a consequence no doubt of segregationist policies like the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act and the 1950 The Group Areas Act) have established robust barriers to upward social mobility for those in the lower classes. That is to say that escaping poverty is a particularly complicated matter in the newly democratic country.

It has become somewhat of a priori knowledge in the political sciences that the middle class is an essential component to the support (and thereby success) of democracies. In order to ensure that South Africa's young democracy receives as much reinforcement as is possible, the size of the middle class needs to be increased. Moreover, the rampant inequality and poverty within the country needs to be addressed. Social mobility is needed. There are a few

⁸¹ In this sense 'unrealistic' refers to the confidence and ability of individuals to deal with reality, a notion that stems from the concept of 'ego control' (Rotter, 1966).

widely recognised means of addressing social mobility: structurally (or institutionally) by way of government policies, or in the improvement of Human Capital, Social Capital and Financial Capital⁸². While these are certainly important avenues to improved mobility, there is a definite gap in research pertaining to the psychological influences of social mobility – this is of course barring the few research outputs concerning the effects of self-efficacy, hard work and control on mobility and class identification.

When it comes to matters of self-reported class, researching the psychological element of mobility only proves to be more salient (self-reported class being a psychological affect). Looking at the segregationist and exclusionary practices of apartheid prior to democracy in South Africa, it is understandable that many South Africans of colour would feel that they have very little control over the outcomes in their lives. A lack of perceived control over one's life has been associated with identification with the lower classes. Conversely, internalised control (otherwise measured through self-efficacy) can be considered an important precursor to action that affects movement out of poverty.

When it comes down to matters of control and self-efficacy, no construct has been proven more useful than that of Rotter's (1966) locus of control. LOC has not only proven to be a valid conceptualisation of control, but allows for adjustments that may improve the domain-specificity of the measurement of control (an example of which being the Economic Locus of Control Scale).

⁸² A solution put forward by Butler, Beach and Winfree (2008).

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Any research which aims to examine the connections between two (or more) social phenomena inevitably interacts with the notions of *association* and *causality*. The former is demonstrated by one social phenomenon (or variable) tending to vary according to the variations of the other and illustrates the basic relationship or connection between the two social phenomena⁸³. *Causality*, on the other hand, is a stronger form of association in which alterations in one phenomenon “systematically result in direct changes in the other” (Payne & Payne, 2004: 13-14). A causal relationship can consequently be used to explain **why** another social phenomenon happens⁸⁴.

While a causal explanation for the relationship between variables is favoured; in order for causality to be established a researcher is required to show that: a) the cause came before the effect, b) there is an association between the variables examined, and c) alternative explanations are eliminated, thus insuring against spuriousness (Daly 2003: 25; Hidalgo & Sekhon, 2011: 204; Neuman, 2011: 5 – 76). Within the scope of this particular study, determining causality between the variables examined is not a feasible undertaking. This is most notably due to the nature of the variables being used - temporal ordering cannot be established, and because the existence and effects of other variables are not controlled for (other than race). Moreover, the way in which key concepts have been measured in this study prevents the computation of analyses that are often used for establishing causality. Thus, this descriptive quantitative study aims to determine whether or not an *association*⁸⁵ exists between the variables of class, race, and LOC.

In order to determine the association (relationship) between class, race and LOC, secondary analysis of longitudinal survey data⁸⁶ occurs. The units of analysis in this study are the

⁸³ See Miller (2003: 307) for information on instances where linkages exist between two independent variables – known as statistical *interactions*.

⁸⁴ Social scientists differentiate between two types of causation: *deterministic* and *probabilistic*. The former alludes to casual relationships whereby the cause dictates certain effects absolutely, whilst the latter infers that “certain events raise the chance of occurrence of other events” (Daly, 2003: 25).

⁸⁵ Where applicable, correlation (the strength of the association) will also be determined.

⁸⁶ This entire study will employ World Values Survey (WVS) data exclusively in its analyses.

respondents to the 1995, 2001 and 2006 South African waves of the World Values Survey. The level of analysis will be at the micro-level. The research designs and methodologies of surveys, longitudinal studies, and secondary data analyses are examined within this Chapter. Furthermore, the data sets employed within this study are discussed after a brief introduction to the World Values Survey. Chapter Three concludes with a discussion of the conceptualisation and operationalisation of class, race, and LOC.

3.2 Survey Research

Perhaps one of the most widely used methods of measurement in the social sciences, survey research is based on the systematic collection of information from a sample of members of a population, enabling one to make inferences about the population in general (de Leeuw, Hox & Dillman, 2008; Beltrán, 2011: 2567; Kilburn, 2011: 515). Surveys can be administered to respondents (participants) either through the mail, via telephone, over the internet, or in person (face-to-face). While the first three methods are more convenient and cost-effective, they are predisposed to low response rates and the researcher often has little control over who actually answers the questions - some individuals may answer questions multiple times and thus generate biased results. Despite the elevated costs of face-to-face interviews⁸⁷, this method of survey administration gives researchers added control over the surveying process, results in far less bias due to misunderstandings (participants are able to ask for clarification), and allows for the collection of far more in-depth information (Mrug, 2010: 2475). Thus, when possible, face-to-face surveys are preferred.

One of the great advantages of surveying is that questions can easily be tailored to the research topic. By way of standardised questionnaires surveys are able to gather information on identical variables for each respondent or case interviewed. Respondents' answers are therefore made comparable and quantifiable. In addition, surveys offer researchers the repeated measurement of a diverse range of variables that facilitate the understanding of changes in social phenomena (Beltrán, 2011: 2571). Surveys thus enable researchers to answer questions relating to an individual's behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, or emotions (Mrug,

⁸⁷ The most notable of which being the training and monitoring of interviewers.

2010: 1473). With the above in mind the key feature of surveying is, predictably, its structured method of data collection (O’Leary, 2003a: 302).

Inherent to this systematic form of data collection is its design. According to Beltrán (2011: 2568), the design of the questionnaire is fundamental to survey research and questions should generate good, unbiased and objective information. A significant element to the design of a survey questionnaire is thus the actual question wording and order. Subtle changes in wording can change considerations brought to mind, whereas the order of questions may prime specific considerations – both having the potential to affect a respondent’s answers (Bradburn, 1982). This is why Kilburn (2011: 516) argues that, wherever possible, researchers try and randomise the order of questions.

The form in which the question is asked is similarly important to the design of a questionnaire due to its implications on the nature of responses received⁸⁸. Close-ended questions (where a list of acceptable responses are provided) often have a greater chance of being more reliable or consistent over time due to the fact that a respondent’s expectations are indicated, consequently making responses easier to interpret statistically (Fink, 2003: 18). This is of course particularly important in large surveys, where there are a vast number of responses due to the volume of respondents. Mrug (2010: 1473) goes on to say that, while open-ended questions (where acceptable answers are not provided) allow respondents to describe their view of the world in their own words and thus elicit more complete and deeper answers, closed-ended questions are favoured since respondents are often unable or unwilling to express themselves. What is more, responses to open-ended questions are largely problematic for researchers to quantitatively analyse or contrast.

Since questionnaires must be efficiently administrated by interviewers and easily understood by respondents, the survey questions themselves are usually simple – a characteristic that has led to wide spread criticism of the propensity of surveys to over-simplify complex or sensitive areas of research (O’Leary, 2003a: 304). The notions of *reliability* (consistency of measurement) and *validity* (relevance of measurement) are consequently the focal points of many reproaches to questionnaires as measurement instruments.

⁸⁸ Responses may produce data that are either nominal, ordinal or scale (ratio or interval) in its level of measurement.

The reliability of a measure can be seen as fundamentally linked to its validity. An instrument may consistently provide the same measurements, yet for a superfluous item – the incidence of which is comparable to a “miscalibrated yardstick, which reliably gives the wrong length” (Sapsford, 2007: 16). In order to design good measures, and thereby improve the reliability of respondents’ answers, Fowler (2009) stresses that researchers should avoid inadequate wording in their surveys. Examples of inadequate wording include: wording that is incomplete; the use of unacceptable optional wording; poor wording order; words with inconsistent meanings (use of terms or concepts that have multiple meanings); the use of poorly defined or ambiguous terms; and wording that poses two questions simultaneously (Fowler, 2009: 89 - 95). Researchers should, in other words, take care to design questions that are purposeful, concrete, and utilise complete sentences (Fink, 2003:15 -16).

In order to improve the validity of a respondent’s answer to a question, a researcher should be aware of the following foundations of factual inaccuracy in responses: a) respondents may not understand a question yet answer it nonetheless, b) respondents may genuinely be unable to answer questions due to insufficient knowledge, and c) due to the effects of social desirability, respondents may purposefully give inaccurate answers (Fowler, 2009: 106 – 109). In order to circumvent these drawbacks researchers should always ensure that they emphasise the importance of accuracy to respondents, that all questions are written in such a way as to be consistently understood by respondents⁸⁹, and that respondents are guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity. Moreover, when designing a questionnaire, a researcher should always factor in the prospect that some of the questions he/ she would like answered are simply not feasible, in which case what is reported may have to be supplemented with data collected elsewhere (Fowler, 2009: 106 - 108).

In addition to the recommendations made by Fowler (2009) above, Knapp and Mueller (2010: 337 - 340) state that an assurance of the reliability and validity of measuring instruments can be realised when: a) the instrument is accurately described and its use justified, b) appropriate reliability indices are considered, c) the instrument is proven to be suitably valid according to evidence gathered from both data and related literature, and d) applicable reliability and validity results are reported and interpreted in the study’s conclusion.

⁸⁹ One should never “assume that all members of the target sample share the same vernacular” (Goddard & Villanova, 2006: 119).

3.3 Longitudinal Research

As opposed to cross-sectional research (where data is collected at a single point in time⁹⁰), longitudinal research entails the collection of data at multiple points in time. Longitudinal studies therefore facilitate the observation of the same social phenomena over an extended period of time (Babbie, 2010: 107), an evident advantage over cross-sectional studies. It is because of this capacity to study social phenomena over time that Menard (2002: 50) asserts the two principal functions of longitudinal research: a) to describe patterns of change, and b) to analyse casual relationships. With these core functions in mind, it should come as no surprise that longitudinal research proves most useful when studies are conducted for exploratory, descriptive (as is the case for this study), or explanatory purposes (Neuman, 2011: 44).

According to Neuman (2011: 44 – 46), there are three types of longitudinal research: timeseries, panel, and cohort studies. Whereas panel studies gather data on identical people (cases) in each time period of the longitudinal research, time-series studies entail the collection of data on different people in each time period. Cohort studies, which are somewhat similar to panel studies, look at a particular category of people (who share a common experience) within a longitudinal time frame (Neuman, 2011: 46). Notwithstanding time-series, panel, and cohort studies, Babbie (2010: 107) includes trend studies in the list of types of longitudinal research. Trend studies are similar to time-series studies in that they examine different people within each series of a given time period. Unlike time-series studies though, trend studies collect data on a *given characteristic* of a *population* over time (Babbie, 2010: 107). The longitudinal research undertaken within this particular study utilises data collected within a time-series.

While many researchers write about the strength of longitudinal data, the use of which enables the in-depth exploration and analysis of social phenomena (Menard, 2002; Menard, 2004; Babbie, 2010; Court, 2010; Neuman, 2011), longitudinal research is not without its drawbacks. First, longitudinal studies entail much larger costs – in terms of both money and time – compared to cross-sectional studies (Babbie, 2010: 110). This is particularly apparent when large-scale surveys are conducted, where costs are already initially high. Second, if a

⁹⁰ Cross-sectional research can thus be employed when researching differences *between* cases, but not differences *within* cases (Menard, 2004: 598).

panel study is conducted, there is the potential danger of *panel attrition*⁹¹ whereby some of the respondents within the first wave of the study no longer wish to participate in the later waves. This will render study results inaccurate (Babbie, 2010: 110). A third disadvantage of longitudinal research is the risk that “biases in sampling may be amplified by repetition” (Menard, 2002: 34).

Finally, the utility of data may be ruined as a result of changes in measurement over time (Menard, 2002: 38). That is to say that the operationalisation of concepts (variables) may alter from series to series. Furthermore, as is seen in the World Values Survey data, new measures may be added to later survey waves that were not present in earlier waves. The converse also occurs where (relatively) useful measures occurring in earlier waves may be completely removed in later waves. As Menard (2002: 38) so aptly states, changing measurements in longitudinal surveys expedites “the risk of having one's research dictated by what may later be recognized as a transient theoretical fashion” – a possibility that no researcher wishes to experience.

3.4 Secondary Data Analysis

Following data collections and the creation of a data file, the next step for a researcher involves the analysis of his/her data. In cases where large-scale and longitudinal survey data is used, secondary data analysis is a well-documented and common occurrence (Hewson, 2006: 275). Secondary data differs from primary data in that it has been collected by another researcher, for a different purpose. Secondary analysis therefore attempts “to re-interpret the original data set in relation to a new research question” (Hewson, 2006: 275). The practice of secondary analysis has taken on a significant role within the Social Sciences due to the improved data quality and access brought about by the expansion of surveys in research (Nathan, 2004: 1009).

There are many benefits to the use of secondary data, the most prominent of which being ‘resource economy’- researchers are able to avoid the time-consuming and expensive processes of planning and conducting a survey (Dale, 2004: 1007; Nathan, 2004: 1009)⁹². A

⁹¹ *Panel conditioning* may also occur where panel studies (being repeated) influence the social phenomenon being observe (Ruspini, 2003).

⁹² Resource economy is of particular importance for this study because, as a student, I could not have possibly afforded the costs involved in data collection.

further consequence of not being involved in the collection of primary data is that the researcher is given more time to concentrate on framing questions, conducting analyses, and interpreting results (Hewson, 2006: 275; Boslough, 2010: 1331).

Punch (2003: 41) argues that, “Since findings and conclusions from any study are only as good as the data on which they are based, quality of data should be an overriding consideration” of any researcher before he embarks on analyses. A researcher can never have an absolute guarantee of the quality of secondary data; most notably due to the fact that he will have had no control over the method of data collection, or the condition in which respondents were questioned. Moreover, the researcher “will have had no opportunity to influence the questions asked or the coding frames used” (Dale, 2004: 1007), both of which being elements that affect the reliability and validity of the information.

Another drawback to the secondary analysis of survey data is that, because the researcher did not devise the original survey, some variables of interest may be absent – which means that the researcher will have to simply make do with what is available (Nathan, 2004: 1009). Boslough (2010: 1330 - 1331) also highlights the significant ramification of insufficient supplementary information regarding the original research design and the data collection and cleaning processes. Boslough’s (2010: 1330) contention is that, without this important information, a researcher cannot be sure of “what the data collected actually represents or what methods of analysis are appropriate”. However, most large scale institutions do provide auxiliary information alongside their datasets (often in the form of technical reports) – it is only the smaller survey projects that do not.

Aside from the validity and reliability of measurement instruments (as discussed earlier on), the response rates in a survey also influence the quality of data. In terms of survey data, Fowler (2009: 154 – 162) cautions that there are four analytical issues that researchers will most likely need to address before analysing data: adjusting for a nonresponse to the survey, adjusting for items that were not answered, weighting to adjust for different probabilities of selection⁹³, and calculating the effects of the sample design on the statistical calculations. Should nonresponse rates be high, researchers can affect estimates either by excluding respondents (who did not provide codable answers) from a particular analysis or estimating the answers they would have potentially given (sometimes through imputation). In order to

⁹³ Weighting is often used to correct for the underrepresentation of certain groups in the data.

choose the best adjustment procedure for an analysis, it is thus important for a researcher to make the distinction between respondents who do not provide any data at all versus respondents who simply fail to provide answers to a handful of questions.

The above being said, regardless of the potential shortcomings of secondary data analysis, its advantages prove pervasive in the considerations of most researchers. Despite concerns otherwise, the quality of secondary data is for the most part very high and methodologies used are usually well documented (Boslough, 2010: 1331). Not only does secondary analysis provide researchers with large-scale and longitudinal datasets, but it proves to be incredibly cost-effective and time-saving too.

3.5 Description of datasets

The World Values Survey Association (WVSA) was established in 1981 with the principal mission to “help social scientists and policy-makers better understand worldviews and changes that are taking place in the beliefs, values and motivations of people throughout the world” (WVS, 2008: 3). This mission has achieved fruition since the WVSA’s inception by way of representative national surveys of people’s values and beliefs on a global scale, undertaken by a network of social scientists around the world (WVS, 2008: 3). The development of this network of social scientists, who are interested in social change, continues to be an additional endeavour of the association. The World Values Survey (WVS) has executed nationally representative surveys of 97 international societies - ranging from poor to rich, authoritarian to liberal democratic - between 1981 and 2007. It remains to this day a non-profit association, its secretariat now based at the Institute for Future Studies in Stockholm, Sweden (WVS, 2013c).

The surveys (designed with input gathered throughout the world) are directed by participants from the given society to ensure that the design and fieldwork of the surveys are carried out with an inside understanding of the society being investigated (WVS, 2008:3). All interviews are conducted face-to-face by a local field organisation, with the surveys being managed by a Principal Investigator (PI). In order to detect any sociocultural or political changes over time, these surveys take place within a longitudinal time series. To date, six waves of surveys have taken place across all six continents: 1981-1984 (First Wave), 1989 - 1993 (Second Wave), 1994 - 1998 (Third Wave), 1999 - 2004 (Fourth Wave), 2005 - 2008 (Fifth Wave), and 2010 -

2013 (Sixth Wave). This allows for a 30-year time series for the analysis of social and political change.

Due to the WVSA's desire to deliver a global resource, the datasets from all concluded surveys, as well as the integrated questionnaires for 1981-2008, are publicly available online on the World Values Survey website. Internal consistency checks are made between the sampling design and the outcome and rigorous data-cleaning procedures are followed at the WVS data archive (WVS, 2008: 4). It is important to note that because the WVS prides itself on the use of contemporary methodologies for the design and analysis of social surveys, it is continuously evolving, and gaining greater precision and efficiency along the way.

Of all the countries involved in the WVS, South Africa is one of the few that has taken part in each consecutive wave and in so doing provides researchers substantial data for the years of 1982, 1990, 1995, 2001, and 2006 (WVS, 2013g). In addition to the aforementioned waves, South Africa is also participating in the upcoming sixth WVS survey. This means that for South Africa, data on value-changes will be available for a 31 year timespan. That being said, due to the continuous progression of the WVS throughout the years, a number of questions found in the more recent surveys are not found within the earlier ones. This makes it difficult to use all five legs of the South African WVS' for longitudinal studies requiring specific items because, in order for true item reliability to occur, identical questions must be looked at. It is for this reason that only three waves of the South African WVS can be employed in this particular study: 1995, 2001 and 2006.

3.5.1 1995 Dataset⁹⁴

The fieldwork for the 1995 South African World Values Survey was undertaken by Ipsos Markinor⁹⁵ (Stellenbosch) under the management of the principal investigators: Prof. Hennie Kotzé (University of Stellenbosch) and Mari Harris (Ipsos Markinor)⁹⁶. The sample size (N) for this wave of the South African WVS was 2899. A stratified random sampling method was

⁹⁴ All information relating to the South African 1996 survey came from an online Technical Report on the WVS website (WVS, 2013d).

⁹⁵ Ipsos Markinor, founded in 1975, is now the third largest survey-based market research company worldwide (Ipsos Markinor, 2013a). Ipsos Observer handles survey management, data collection and delivery specialists.

⁹⁶ Mari Harris is currently Ipsos Markinor's Managing Executive: Business Development & Public Affairs (Ipsos Markinor, 2013b).

chosen, divided according to racial lines (namely White, Black, Coloured and Indian). The consequence of this was that only the White sample was nationally representative. A face-to-face personal interviewing technique was used in respondents' homes, with the questionnaire being translated into English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and Xhosa.

3.5.2 2001 Dataset⁹⁷

Mari Harris and Prof. Hennie Kotzé (University of Stellenbosch) both acted as the principal investigators for the 2001 South Africa World Values Survey. Fieldwork took place between the months of March and May, using a face-to-face interviewing technique. All questionnaires were once again translated into English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana and Xhosa. The sample size (N) for this round of surveys was 3000, and a stratified random sampling method was employed (sub-groups having been defined by province, gender, race, and community size)⁹⁸. The sample was thus representative of urban and rural populations. The sample universe consisted of South African residents of both sexes, with a lower-age cut off of 16 years. Data were weighted in order to reflect South Africa's population, utilising figures from the 1997 South African General Population Census.

3.5.3 2006 Dataset⁹⁹

Data collection and fieldwork for the 2006 South Africa World Values Survey, whose principal investigators were once again Mari Harris and Prof. Hennie Kotzé, were undertaken by Ipsos Markinor in November 2006. All fieldwork was completed by 20 December of the same year. The questionnaire was translated into Afrikaans, IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, Sesotho, Setswana and Sepedi, with a face-to-face personal interviewing technique used in respondents' homes. A probability sampling method was used in order to get the ultimate 3000 sample size (N) for this survey. The achieved sample was broken down into urban (metro, city, large town and small town) and rural (village and rural) across all nine provinces. All respondents in the sample size were: residents in South Africa, 16 years old

⁹⁷ Details of the South African 2001 survey came from an online Technical Report (2013e) as well as a Technical Report written by principal investigator Mari Harris (2001).

⁹⁸ This was the first time that the South African WVS came close to a nationally representative sample of all the racial groups.

⁹⁹ Three online Technical Reports (WVS, 2013f; Medrano, 2009; Kotzé & Harris, 2006) provided descriptions of the 2006 South African survey.

and above, and of either sex. The data was weighted to reflect South Africa's population according to community size, province, race, gender and age.

3.6 Conceptualisation and Operationalisation of Variables

As with all quantitative investigations, concepts within this study are measured (operationalised) in the form of variables. The variables to be used within this study are those of Race, Class and LOC.

In terms of reliability, each of the variables are considered to be both consistent and dependable – the same measurements (questions) having been used in the 1995, 2001, and 2006 survey waves. Moreover, they are believed to be reliable across time (*stability reliability*) and across the subpopulations of South Africa (*representative reliability*)¹⁰⁰. In terms of validity, each of the variables (empirical indicators) used accurately resemble the conceptualisation of constructs (Neuman, 2011: 211). Not only do they demonstrate *face validity* (the indicator ‘makes sense’), but *content validity* (the full content of a concept is measured) and *construct validity* (the variables measure the concepts they are intended too) as well.

3.6.1 Class

Many studies have shown that “an individual can reliably report on where they stand in relation to others in terms of their [socioeconomic status]” (APA, 2007: 11). Moreover, an individual's perception of his “social standing with regard to income, education, and occupation appear to be associated with their mental and physical health data” (APA, 2007: 11). Since LOC is a measure based on an individual's *perception* of control, it would be advantageous to utilise LOC in conjunction with an individual's *perceived* social standing (self-reported socioeconomic class) in this study.

Class in this study is thus conceptualised as the self-perceived socioeconomic status (social standing) of a respondent in relation to the socioeconomic status of others in South African society. The operationalisation of class is achieved by way of the following question in each of the South African WVS surveys:

¹⁰⁰ See Neuman (2011: 208 – 209).

Q: *“People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the: Upper Class, Upper Middle Class, Lower Middle Class, Working Class, Lower Class?”*

Class is therefore used as a categorical variable in the statistical analyses of Chapter Four.

3.6.2 Race

In South Africa, the racial (ethnic) groups into which individuals are usually classified are: Black, White, Coloured, or Indian. This stems from the racial categorisation policies of the apartheid government pre-1994. In the South African component of the WVS, the racial groups of respondents were coded according to the observations of interviewers. In each year of the WVS the following categories were included: (1) *Black*, (2) *White*, (3) *Coloured*, and (4) *Indian*. Race is therefore used as a categorical variable in the statistical analyses of Chapter Four.

3.6.3 Locus of Control

Locus of control is a psychological construct developed by Rotter in 1966 that places individuals on an Internal-External control continuum. The internal end of the continuum concerns individuals who feel that they can decide their own destiny, whereas the external end is associated with those who feel that they cannot escape a predetermined fate.

Locus of Control is measured by the following question, repeated in each survey:

Q: *“Some people feel they have complete free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means “no choice at all” and 10 means “a great deal of choice” to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.”*

LOC is therefore used as a scale variable in the statistical analyses of Chapter Four.

3.7 Summary

With the overall objective of describing the relationship between class, race and LOC in South Africa, this study involves the secondary analysis of longitudinal survey data. This Chapter examined the research designs and methodologies of survey research, longitudinal studies, and secondary data analysis. Moreover, the strengths and weaknesses of these methods were discussed. A short introduction to the World Values Survey was offered, as

well as an overview of the three data sets (1995, 2001, and 2006) to be used in the statistical analyses of this study (found in Chapter Four). The variables of class, race, and LOC were discussed together with an explanation of how they would be measured. The conceptualisation of these three variables follows on from the research conducted in Chapter Two (Literature Review) of this study.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

4.1 Introduction

Grounded in the methodological framework set out in Chapter Three, the statistical analyses within this study are executed using data collected by the World Values Survey (WVS) in the 1995, 2001, and 2006 South African waves. The focus of these analyses centres on three variables: race, class, and locus of control (LOC).

To what extent do race and class influence LOC in South Africa? This longitudinal study aims to address the general research question as to whether or not a relationship exists between the three variables, and examines the significance thereof. Moreover, it is these variables, used as either independent (predictor) or dependent (outcome) variables, which facilitate the realisation of this study's five research objectives:

- To measure the LOC of South Africans from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between class and race from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between LOC and class from 1995 to 2006.
- To measure the relationship between LOC and race from 1995 to 2006.
- To establish whether differences in LOC can be attributed to the interaction between race and class from 1995 to 2006.

While the majority of the aforementioned research objectives are met through bivariate/multivariate analyses, univariate analyses are carried out in order to better familiarise the reader with the variables in question. These univariate analyses not only provide a good overview of the data but also serve as the foundation for a systematic progression towards more complex analyses further on in the chapter.

Notwithstanding the five research objectives, the following propositions are addressed within the review section of this chapter:

Proposition 1: The average LOC score of South Africans has increased (become more internalised) from 1995 to 2006 – an upshot of the continued entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in the country.

Proposition 2: There is a statistically significant relationship between race and class in South Africa.

Proposition 3: Individuals who consider themselves to be Lower Middle class or higher will have a significantly higher (internalised) LOC in comparison to those who perceive themselves to be Lower Class.

Proposition 4: Disparities in LOC, across race groups, will occur - a result of South Africa's particular social setting and the impact that apartheid's discriminatory policies have had on the contemporary make-up of socioeconomic classes in the country.

Proposition 5: An interaction will occur between the variables of class and race which will in turn have a significant effect on the LOC scores of South Africans.

Consistent with the progression from basic to advanced, this chapter begins with descriptive statistics (frequencies) that illustrate the distributions of class, race, and LOC in South Africa between 1995 and 2006. Next the relationship between class and race (the first of the bivariate analyses) is analysed through cross-tabulation. The relationship between LOC and class, then LOC and race, is examined by way of comparison of means. Finally, a Two-Way ANOVA (the only multivariate analysis) is performed in order to establish whether or not an interaction occurs between race and class on the mean of LOC.

In order to be nationally representative, the survey samples were weighted by the WVS according to South African census data. This resulted in a sample size of 23725 for 1996, 16109 for 2001, and 26968 for 2006. Furthermore, in each wave of the survey there were respondents who were unable or unwilling to answer questions - these "don't know" responses were subsequently labelled as missing¹⁰¹. These missing values are not taken into account when analyses are performed.

4.2 Overview of Dependent Variable: Locus of Control

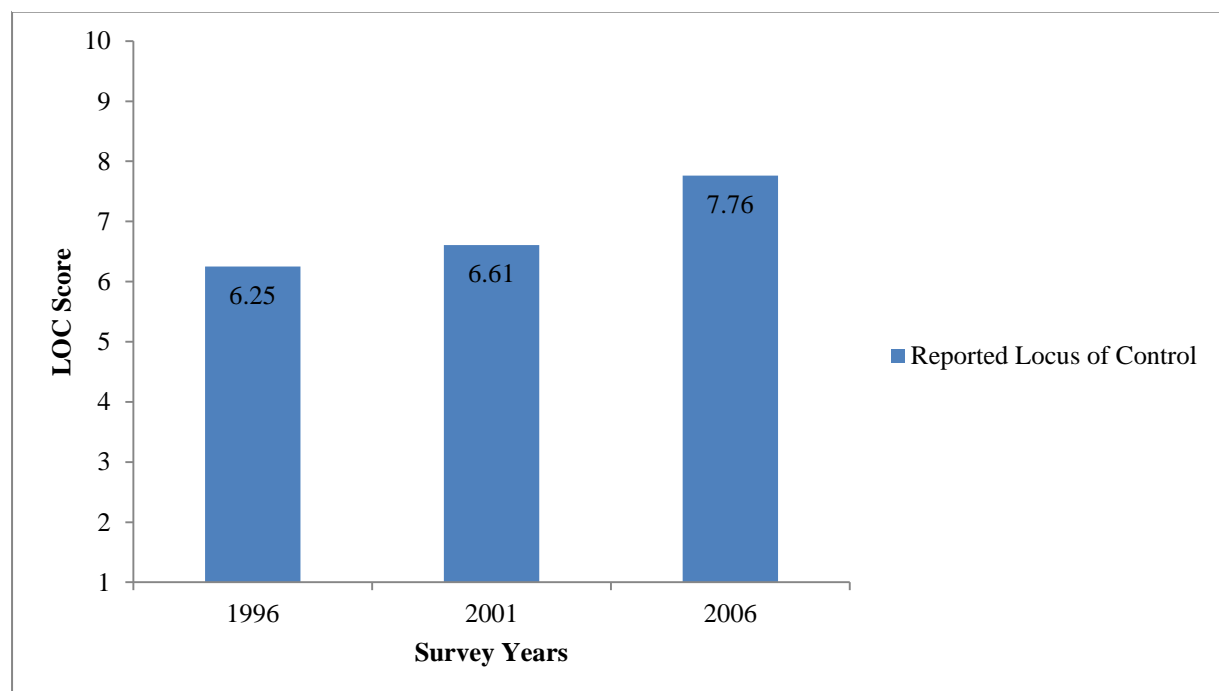
Objective: To measure LOC in South Africa between 1995 and 2006.

¹⁰¹ The total percentage of responses declared missing (where present) is acknowledged in each section of the chapter.

In order to measure loci of control, respondents were asked to rank their perceived control on a scale of one (the minimum) to ten (the maximum). Accordingly, respondents that ranked their perceived control at the lower end of the scale tended to demonstrate greater externalised control, whereas those that ranked their perceived control at the upper end of the scale tended to exhibit more internalised control. A total of 1.9% (462) values were declared missing in 1995, 1% (164) in 2001 and 1.7% (453) in 2006.

Descriptives were run in order to get the mean (\bar{x}) LOC for each year. As is illustrated in Figure 4.1., the LOC of South Africans steadily increased from 1995 to 2006. That is to say that the locus of control for South Africans has, in general, become *more internalised*. Although the LOC of South Africans has increased over the years, this growth was relatively slight – the difference between the mean scores of 1995 and 2006 only amounting to 1.51. Moreover, it must be noted that there was a fair amount of variance within the sample for each year (1995 SD¹⁰² = 2.586, 2001 SD = 2.744, 2006 SD = 2.232).

Figure 4.1. LOC in South Africa, 1995 – 2006



¹⁰² The standard deviation (SD) is an “estimate of the average spread of a set of data measured in the same units of measurement as the original data” (Field, 2009: 794).

4.3 Overview of Independent Variables: Race and Class

4.3.1 Race

The demographic variable of race (or ethnicity) was measured according to the observations of the interviewer in each survey. As a nominal variable, it provided the interviewer with four categories to choose from: Black, White, Coloured, or Indian. In order to determine the distribution of race in South Africa for 1995, 2001, and 2006, descriptive frequencies were computed. There were no missing values for this variable.

As is demonstrated in Table 4.1., the percentage of Blacks in South Africa has steadily increased over the years (from 73.3% in 1995 to 80.3% in 2006) and they remain the clear majority in the country. The White, Coloured, and Indian racial groups respectively make up the minority of South Africans across all three time points. Indians represent the smallest proportion of the population, reaching their lowest percentage yet at 2% in 2006.

Table 4.1. The Distribution of Race in South Africa, 1995 - 2006

	1995	2001	2006
Black	73.3%	72.5%	80.3%
White	15.8%	13.7%	10.8%
Coloured	8.4%	10.4%	6.9%
Indian	2.6%	3.5%	2%
Total*	100%	100%	100%

*Owing to rounding, the percentages in the columns do not add up to 100.

4.3.2 Class

The nominal variable of (self-reported) class was measured according to five categories in the WVS. In each survey the respondent's themselves chose which category they felt they belonged to, either: Lower Class, Working Class, Lower Middle Class, Upper Middle Class, or Upper Class¹⁰³. This variable had occasions of nonresponse in which case those particular

¹⁰³ Since the focus of this study is on self-perceived class and control, Upper Middle Class and Lower Middle Class were left as distinct categories rather than collapsed into one overarching Middle Class (as this would have distorted the validity of the respondents' self-reported class).

values were declared as missing. A total of 5.8% (1375) were declared missing in 1995, 6.2% (991) in 2001 and 5.5% (1475) in 2006. Descriptive frequencies were run in order to determine the distribution of class in South Africa – the results of which are presented in Table 4.2.

While the majority of South Africans considered themselves to be Lower Class in 1995 (40.1%) and 2006 (41.5%), 2001 (24.7%) saw a significant decline in the percentage of the self-reported Lower Class – it was the Working Class (28.9%) instead who made up the greatest percentage of South Africans in that year. In 1995, those who saw themselves as either Lower Middle Class or Upper Middle Class collectively made up 30.1% of the population. While this increased by a further 7% in 2001, the percentage of Lower Middle- and Upper Middle Class dropped by 4.2% in 2006 (the proportion of the Upper Middle Class being the lowest yet at 14.4%). There has been an increase in the percentage of Lower Middle Class South Africans over the years, a trend that may be linked to the falling percentage of the Working Class. The extent of economic inequality in South Africa is exemplified by the fact that only a minority of South Africans consider themselves to be Upper Class – with a growth of only 1% in this class between 1995 and 2006.

Table 4.2. The Distribution of Class in South Africa, 1995 - 2006

	1995	2001	2006
Lower Class	40.1%	24.7%	41.5%
Working Class	22.7%	28.9%	17.9%
Lower Middle Class	15.6%	19.7%	18.5%
Upper Middle Class	14.5%	17.4%	14.4%
Upper Class	1.3%	3%	2.3%
Total*	100%	100%	100%

*Owing to rounding, the percentages in the columns do not add up to 100.

4.3.3 The Relationship between Race and Class

Objective: To measure the inter-relationship between class and race between 1995 and 2006.

The relationship between the categorical variables of race and class was determined by way of cross-tabulation. In this bivariate analysis, race was treated as the independent variable (being a demographic) and class was used as the dependent variable. A total of 5.8% (1374) values were declared missing in 1995, 6.2% (991) in 2001 and 5.5% (1474) in 2006.

A Chi-squared test of independence¹⁰⁴ was used in order to establish whether race and class were independent of each other. In each year the chi-square statistic (χ^2) was greater than 0, so the null hypothesis¹⁰⁵ is rejected (1995 $\chi^2 = 9588.831$, 2001 $\chi^2 = 2877.022$, 2006 $\chi^2 = 6947.223$). Furthermore the p-value¹⁰⁶ for each year was reported as .000, indicating that this relationship did not occur by chance and is extremely significant. While it is clear that a significant association does exist between the two variables, Cramer's V¹⁰⁷ was used in order to ascertain the strength thereof. The effect size of this association was shown to be moderate to large in 1995 ($v = .378$), small to moderate in 2001 ($v = .252$), and moderate in 2006 ($v = .301$). Thus, when it comes to class, there is a difference in the population based on race. This relationship, while significant, is however moderate.

As indicated by Figure 4.2., from 1995 to 2006 the majority of Blacks in South Africa identified themselves as belonging to the Lower Class. It must be noted however that the proportion of the Black Lower Class has decreased somewhat from 1995 to 2006 (there was a 2.8% decline measured between these two years). The Working Class formed the second greatest proportion of this racial group for 1995 and 2001. However, due to a significant decrease in the percentage of the Black Working Class and a corresponding increase in the percentage of the Black Lower Middle Class over the years, the Lower Middle Class surpassed the Working Class as the second largest percentage of Blacks in 2006. This shift is likely due to the incidence of upward social mobility. Of all four race groups in this study,

¹⁰⁴ Similarly known as the Pearson's chi-square test or the chi-square test of association.

¹⁰⁵ The null hypothesis in this instance would be that the variables of race and class are independent of each other.

¹⁰⁶ The p-value indicates the level of significance: a p-value less than .001 is extremely significant whereas a p-value greater than .05 indicates no significance.

¹⁰⁷ Cramer's V is a measure of the strength of association between two variables: $v = 0.10$ (small effect), $v = 0.30$ (moderate effect), and $v = 0.50$ (large effect).

Blacks displayed the greatest within-race inequality from 1995 to 2006. For instance, a mere 1.6% of the Black population reported themselves to be Upper Class in 2006, compared to the 53.2% Lower Class and 16.9% Working Class. Though relatively small, the proportion of the Black Upper Class minority nevertheless experienced a 1.1% increase from 1995 to 2006.

The class composition of the majority (and minority) of Whites is starkly contrasted to those of Blacks. In the White race group it is the minority instead who report themselves as Lower Class, while the majority identify themselves as Upper Middle Class. Whites experienced the least within-race inequality in South Africa across all three time points. While the percentage of the White Lower Middle- and Upper Middle Class has steadily decreased over the years, the proportion of the White Upper Class has increased by 3.2% since 1995. Furthermore, relative to all the other racial groups in South Africa, Whites had the greatest percentage of self-reported Upper Class (1995 = 6%, 2001 = 7.3%, 2006 = 9.2%). The only group that came close to this proportion were Indians in 2001 (6.75%). Whereas the percentage of Lower Class Whites remained the same in 2006 as it was in 1995 (1.5%), a slight increase was measured between 1995 and 2006 for the Working Class.

Not only has the proportion of Lower Middle Class and Upper Middle Class Coloureds remained relatively constant from 1995 to 2006, but the percentage of these two particular class groups have likewise remained similar to each other (the percentage difference between the two never being greater than 1.2%). Only a minority of Coloureds considered themselves to be Upper Class, while the majority consistently identified themselves as Working Class. Notwithstanding a peak at 47.3% in 2001, there has been no shift in the percentage of Working Class Coloureds in South Africa when comparing the first time point to the last (it remained 39.9%). Following Blacks, Coloureds have the highest percentage of self-reported Lower Class in South Africa. Furthermore, Coloureds are the only race group in South Africa, other than Indians, to experience an increase in the proportion of their Lower Class over the years (a growth of 2.3% was measured between 1995 and 2006).

The self-reported class of Indians in 1995 and 2001 is quite evenly distributed between both the Upper Middle Class (1995 = 37.9%, 2001 = 32.2%) and the Working Class (1995 = 38.5%, 2001 = 35.8%) – although in both instances the Working Class constitutes the slight majority. In 2006, the percentage of Upper Middle Class Indians dropped to 26.7% and the majority remained the Working Class (35.7%). The proportion of the Indian Lower Middle- and Upper Middle Class appears to have converged by 2006, a consequence no doubt of the

growth of the Indian Lower Middle Class (12.3% increase from 1995) and decline of the Indian Upper Middle Class (11.2% decrease from 1995). Only a minority of Indians identified themselves as being Upper Class – a measurement that was similarly experienced by Blacks and Coloureds. The fact that the percentage of Upper- and Upper Middle Class Indians has been decreasing, suggests downward social mobility may be taking place within this race group. As was observed with Coloured South Africans, the percentage of Lower Class Indians has steadily increased over the years (reaching a peak at 8.6% in 2006).

Overall, there is clearly a difference in self-reported class across the various race groups in South Africa from 1995 to 2006. Not only is there evident inequality between the race groups, but within the race groups too. Furthermore, it appears that while Black and White South Africans are experiencing forms of upward social mobility (as demonstrated by their declining Lower Class), Coloured and Indian South Africans are experiencing what appears to be a manner of downward social mobility (as indicated by their growing Lower Class).

When looking at distinctions in class by race in South Africa, one finds that across all three time points, the overwhelming majority of self-reported Lower Class respondents were Black (this is illustrated by Figure 4.3.). In addition, Blacks made up the majority of the South African Working- and Lower Middle Class too. Of course, the fact that this race group constitutes the overwhelming majority of all South Africans should be taken into consideration when reading these percentages (see Table 4.1).

With the above in mind, it is then interesting to discover that, despite only making up 15.8% of South Africans in 1995, the majority of all Upper Class (68.1%) and Upper Middle Class (61.7%) respondents were White (a minority race group). This is indicative of a highly unequal society. From 2001 onwards though, the majority of the South African Upper Class (2001 = 49.3%, 2006 = 52%) and Upper Middle Class (2001 = 45.1%, 2006 = 46%) were Black and representative of the majority race group – this lead was however closely followed by Whites.

Figure 4.2. The Distribution of Race by Class in South Africa, 1995 – 2006

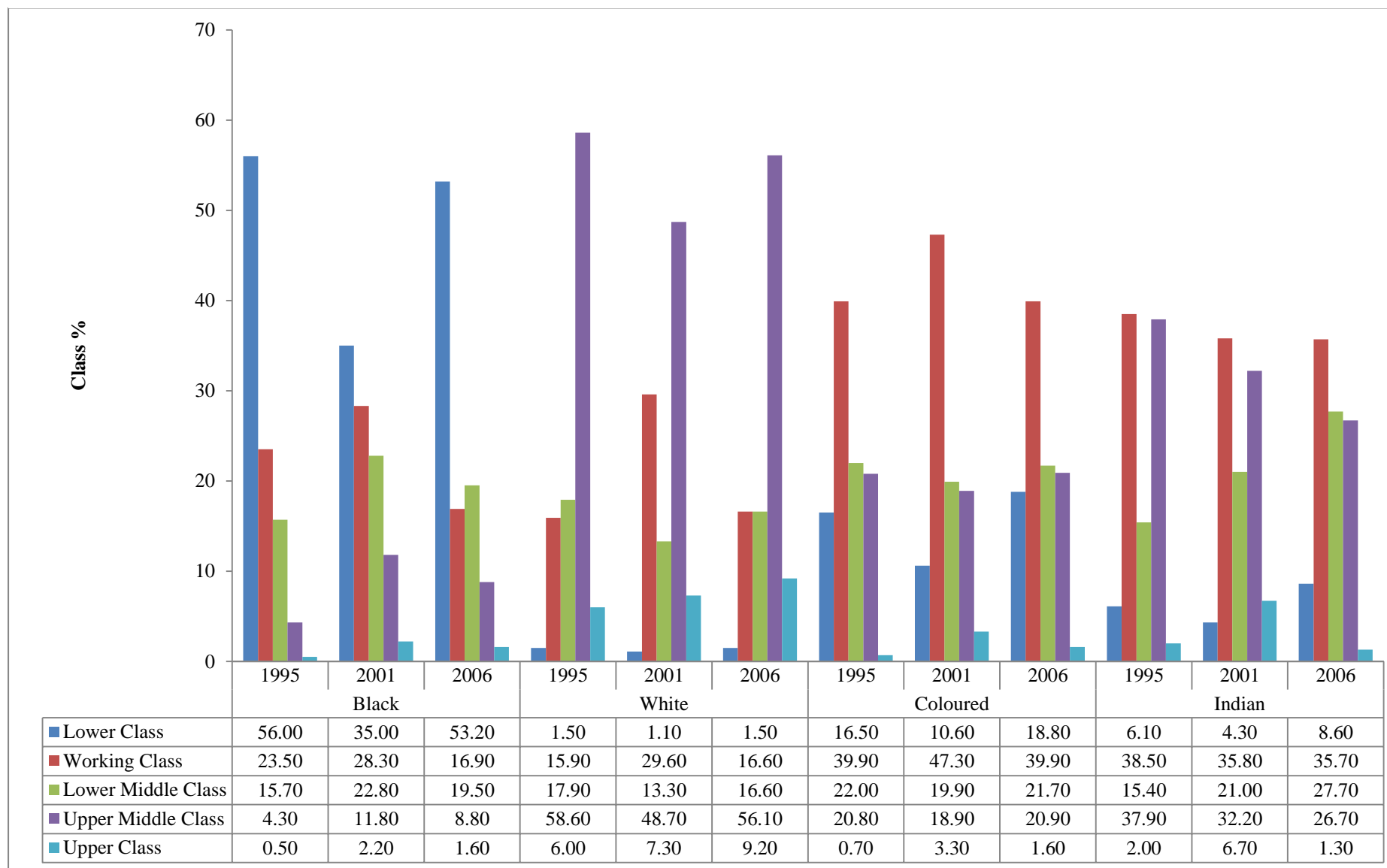
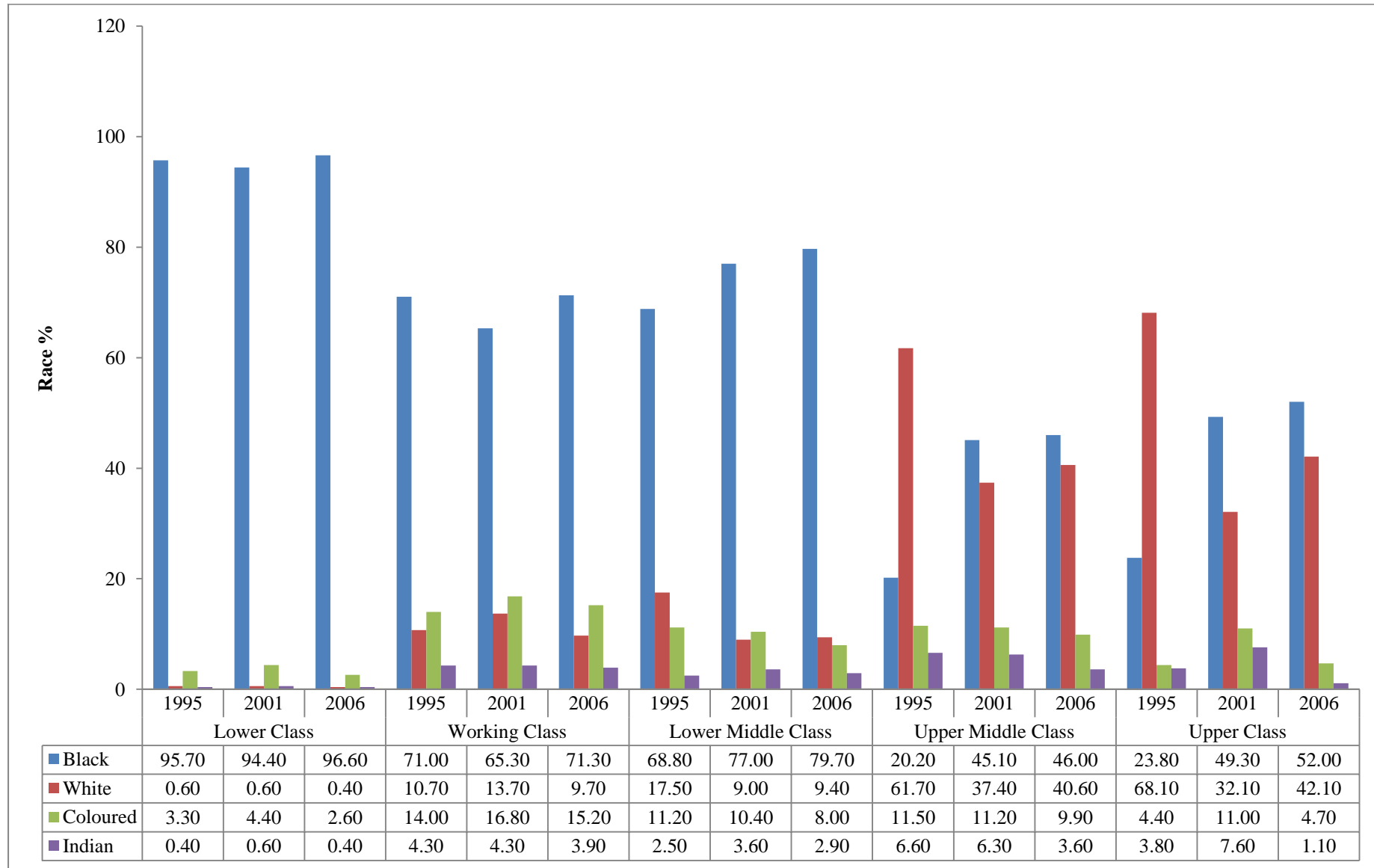


Figure 4.3. The Distribution of Class by Race in South Africa, 1995 – 2006



4.4 Findings

4.4.1 The Relationship between Locus of Control and Class

Objective: To measure the relationship between LOC and class between 1995 and 2006.

In order to determine the relationship between the categorical variable of class and the scale variable of LOC, a Comparison of Means was computed. Class was treated as the independent variable and LOC was used as the dependent variable. The bivariate analyses executed between LOC and class had a total of 7.6% (1799) values declared missing in 1995, 7.1% (1150) in 2001 and 6.9% (1867) in 2006.

In order to determine whether descriptive results are due to random factors or the result of a real relationship an ANOVA (analysis of variance) was carried out. In running the Comparison of Means and ANOVA, it was discovered that a relationship did indeed exist between the variables of LOC and class. The p-value¹⁰⁸ for each year was reported as .000, indicating that this relationship did not occur by chance and is extremely significant. In determining the correlation between LOC and Class, the Eta¹⁰⁹ score was used. In each year the Eta reported was greater than 0.14, indicating a large effect size (1995 Eta = 0.238, 2001 Eta = 0.301, 2006 Eta = 0.172). The Eta Squared¹¹⁰ (η^2) - the proportion variance in the dependent variable that is accounted for by the independent variable - for each year was as follows: 1995 $\eta^2 = .056$ (5.6%), 2001 $\eta^2 = .091$ (9.1%), and 2006 $\eta^2 = .030$ (3%).

With an average LOC of 8.27 between 1995 and 2006, Upper Class South Africans have the highest (most internalised) LOC compared to the other self-reported classes (see Figure 4.4.). It must be noted however that the Upper Middle Class also held relatively high LOC throughout the timespan, eventually converging with the LOC of the Upper Class in 2006. Moreover, while the LOC of the Upper Class hit a decline between 2001 and 2006, the LOC of the Upper Middle Class has steadily been increasing over the years. The lowest (most externalised) LOC was exhibited by Lower Class South Africans.

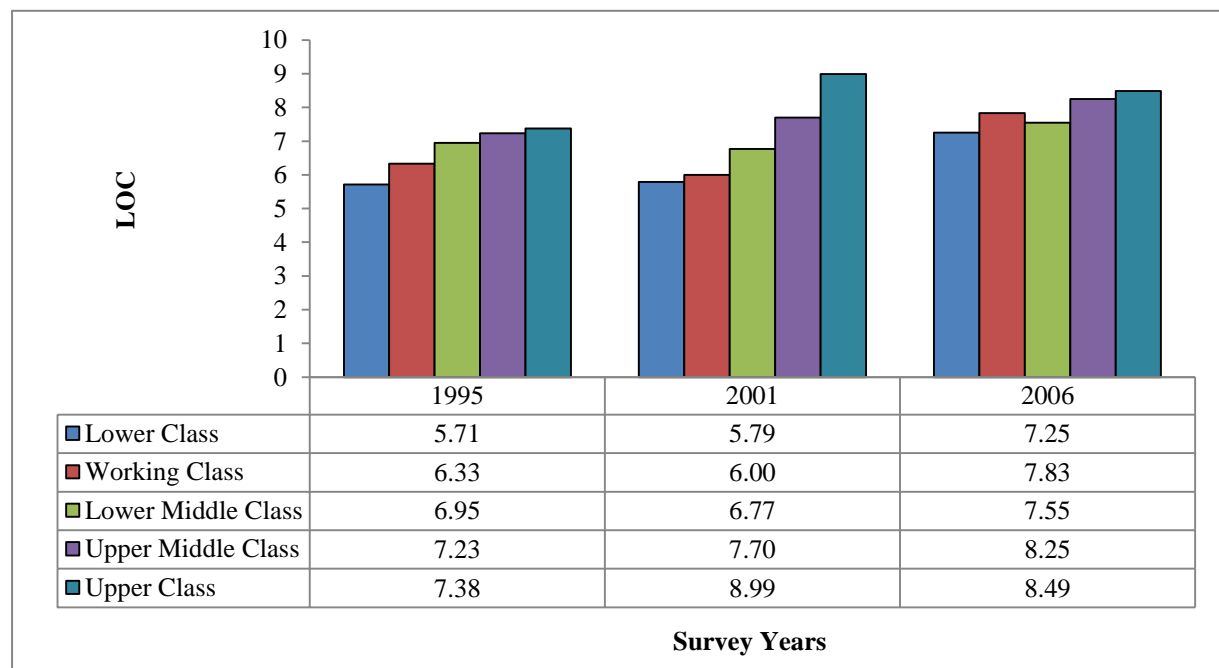
¹⁰⁸ The p-value indicates the level of significance: a p-value less than .001 is extremely significant whereas a p-value greater than .05 indicates no significance.

¹⁰⁹ A measure of correlation. Eta = 0.01 (small effect), Eta = 0.06 (moderate effect) and Eta = 0.14 (large effect).

¹¹⁰ Field (2009: 785) defines Eta Squared as “an effect size measure that is the ratio of the model sum of squares to the total sum of squares”.

Notwithstanding the significant increase in the LOC of the Lower Class over the years (a 1.54 increase from 1995 to 2006), the LOC of the Lower Class in South Africa has consistently been below the national average of each year (see Figure 4.1.). The Lower Class were, however, not the only group to have fallen below the national LOC average; the Working Class (2001 = 6.00) and Lower Middle Class (2006 = 7.55) both had instances of below average LOC. Overall, the LOC for each self-reported class appears to have converged to some extent by 2006.

Figure 4.4. LOC by Self-Reported Class, 1995 – 2006



4.4.2 The Relationship between Locus of Control and Race

Objective: To measure the relationship between LOC and race between 1995 and 2006.

In order to determine the relationship between the categorical variable of race and the scale variable of LOC, a Comparison of Means was computed. Race was treated as the independent variable and LOC was used as the dependent variable. The bivariate analyses executed between LOC and race had a total of 1.9% (462) values declared missing in 1995, 1% (164) in 2001 and 1.7% (453) in 2006.

In order to determine whether descriptive results are due to random factors or the result of a real relationship, an ANOVA (analysis of variance) was carried out. In running the Comparison of Means and ANOVA, it was discovered that a relationship did indeed exist between the variables of LOC and class. The p-value¹¹¹ for each year was reported as .000, indicating that this relationship did not occur by chance and is extremely significant. In determining the correlation between LOC and Class, the Eta¹¹² score was used. In 1995 and 2001 the Eta reported was greater than 0.14, indicating a large effect size (1995 Eta = 0.243, 2001 Eta = 0.233). In 2006 however the Eta was 0.129, indicating only a moderate effect size. The Eta Squared¹¹³ (η^2) - the proportion variance in the dependent variable that is accounted for by the independent variable - for each year was as follows: 1995 $\eta^2 = .059$ (5.9%), 2001 $\eta^2 = .054$ (5.4%), and 2006 $\eta^2 = .017$ (1.7%).

The greatest average disparity in LOC across all three time points is found between Blacks and Whites. While in general the LOC of Coloured and Indian South Africans have remained somewhat constant across the years (see Figure 4.5.), those of Blacks have steadily increased. In fact, the LOC of Blacks has shifted the most, relative to the other race groups, culminating in a 1.62 difference in LOC between 1995 and 2006. However, despite this increase, Black respondents still demonstrate loci of control that are below the national average (see Figure 4.1) in 1995 (5.87), 2001 (6.16), and 2006 (7.49).

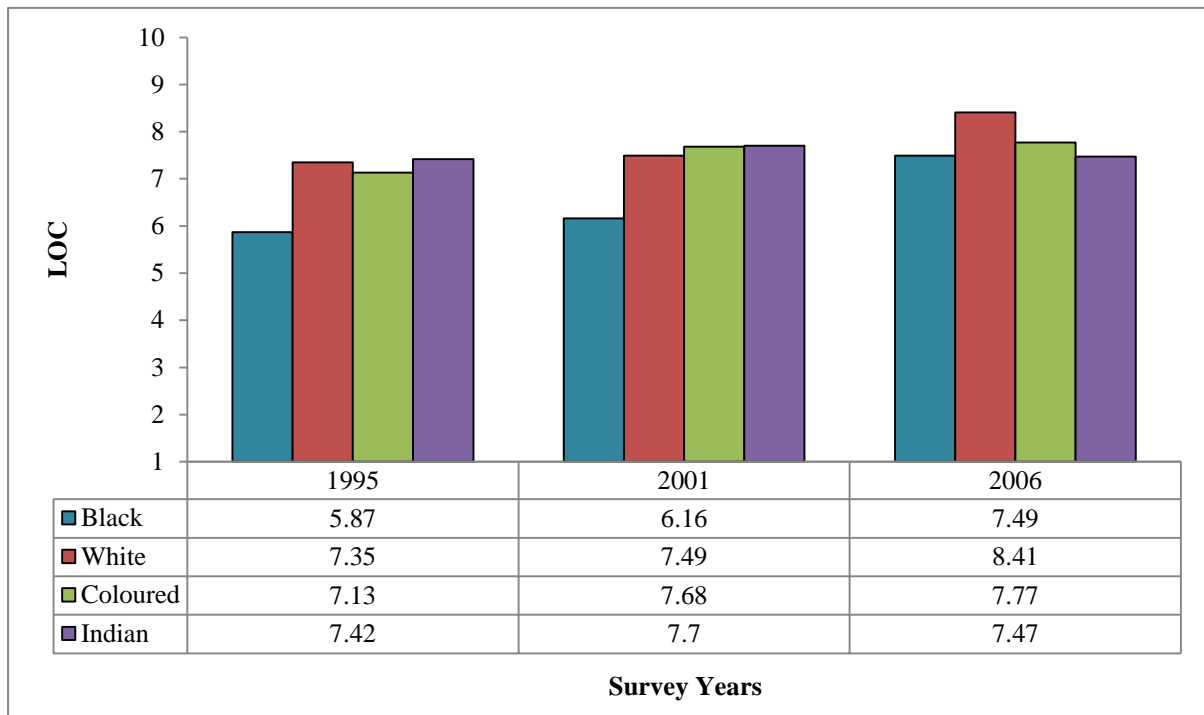
Like the Black race group, Indians also had a LOC below the national average in 2006 (7.47). Moreover, whereas Indians used to have the highest LOC of all South Africans between 1995 and 2001, they were surpassed by Blacks, Whites and Coloureds in 2006¹¹⁴, making them the race group with the relatively lowest LOC. Indians were also the only race group in South Africa to experience a decrease in LOC from 2001 to 2006. Regardless of the decline in LOC for Indians, the LOC of each race group appears to have converged in 2006.

¹¹¹ The p-value indicates the level of significance: a p-value less than .001 is extremely significant whereas a p-value greater than .05 indicates no significance.

¹¹² A measure of correlation. Eta = 0.01 (small effect), Eta = 0.06 (moderate effect) and Eta = 0.14 (large effect).

¹¹³ Field (2009: 785) defines Eta Squared as “an effect size measure that is the ratio of the model sum of squares to the total sum of squares”.

¹¹⁴ The LOC of Whites in 2006 was actually the highest yet across the entire timespan at 8.41

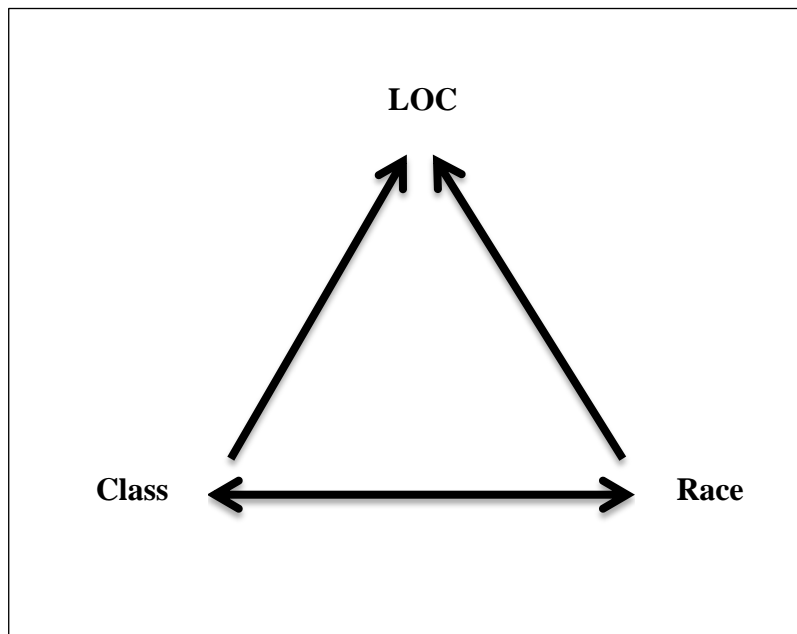
Figure 4.5. LOC by Race, 1995 - 2006

4.4.3 The Interaction between Class, Race and Locus of Control

Objective: To establish whether differences in LOC can be attributed due to the interaction between race and class between 1995 and 2006.

A Two-Way ANOVA was carried out in order to examine the possible effects of class and race on LOC. As is illustrated in the ANOVA outputs found in Appendix C, the variables of both class and race have a statistically significant effect on LOC in South Africa ($p = .000$ for each case, in each year). There was a significant main effect of class on LOC for each time point examined: 1995 $F(4, 21970) = 25.09$, $p < .001$; 2001 $F(4, 14939) = 71.09$, $p < .001$; and 2006 $F(4, 25227) = 29.39$, $p < .001$. An equally significant main effect of race on LOC was shown: 1995 $F(3, 21970) = 19.28$, $p < .001$; 2001 $F(3, 14939) = 39.64$, $p < .001$; and 2006 $F(3, 25227) = 8.70$, $p < .001$. The above results echo the outcomes of the bivariate analyses conducted earlier on.

Furthermore, there was an extremely significant interaction effect between class and race on LOC: 1995 $F(12, 21970) = 8.06$, $p < .001$; 2001 $F(12, 14939) = 37.06$, $p < .001$; and 2006 $F(12, 25227) = 7.74$, $p < .001$. This indicates that the differences between self-reported classes, across the various race groups, have a significant effect on LOC.

Figure 4.6. The Interaction between Class and Race on LOC, 1995 - 2006

4.5 Review of Results

The demographic statistics from the analyses computed in this Chapter, using WVS data, correspond with the demographic statistics of both the South African Institute of Race Relations (2013) and Statistics South Africa (1996 & 2006) for the years examined. Since South Africa was first colonised, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have been Black¹¹⁵, so it can come as no surprise then that they constituted the majority once again in 1995, 2001, and 2006. Conversely, Indians have been the smallest race group in South Africa since 1911, followed by Coloureds and then Whites (SAIIR, 2013:8). This pattern has remained unchanged for 1995, 2001, and 2006 (see Table 4.1.).

South Africa is one of the most unequal countries in the world (The Economist, 2012), a characteristic that was certainly evident in the descriptive results of the self-reported class analyses at the beginning of this Chapter. The majority of respondents were below Lower Middle Class in 1995 (62.8%), 2001 (53.6%), and 2006 (59.4%). The Upper Class on the other hand were the considerable minority in 1995 (1.3%), 2001 (3%), and 2006 (2.3%). The

¹¹⁵ This was made statistically evident for the first time by way of the first South African census, conducted in 1911 (SAIIR, 2013: 8).

significant inequality in South Africa has also been reflected by the Gini Coefficients¹¹⁶ for the country - increasing from 56.6 in 1995 to 67.4 in 2006 (World bank, 2013c). It is interesting to note here that, while there have been relatively minor shifts in the percentages of the Working- and Lower Classes between 1995 and 2006, there has been an increase in inequality (Bhorat & Van der Westhuizen, 2011).

While the majority of Lower Class respondents were Black (see Tables 4.6 to 4.8) across all three years, one should consider this together with the fact that Black respondents made up the significant majority of each sample. This is bound to skew results a little. That being said, these results do make sense when considering the exclusionary economic and employment policies of the apartheid government prior to 1994. The legacy of racial segregation and social exclusion has certainly had an impact on the racial make-up of the lower classes. The fact that, overall, the majority of South Africans perceive themselves as Lower Class is unsurprising according to Amoranto, Chun and Deolalikar (2010: 8) who suggest that this could be ascribed to the diverse socio-cultural composition of South Africa¹¹⁷.

Proposition 1: The average LOC score of South Africans has increased (become more internalised) from 1995 to 2006 – an upshot of the continued entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in the country.

In general, South Africans expressed a fairly internalised LOC which steadily increased from 1995 to 2006. This means that the LOC of South Africans has indeed become more internalised over the years, as was suggested in the first proposition of this study. This increase in perceived control is most likely due to the ever developing democracy in the country. As of 1996 South Africans have had an assured right to freedom, equality and dignity through the Bill of Rights – institutionalised social exclusion (based on race) being a thing of the past.

¹¹⁶ This “measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individuals or households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution” (World Bank, 2013b). The closer to 0 the score is, the more equal the society. Conversely, the closer to 100 the score is, the more unequal the society.

¹¹⁷ In their exploration of the determinants of self-perceived class, Amoranto, Chun and Deolalikar (2010: 8) found that those in a more diverse society are more likely to classify themselves as being lower class than those in a less diverse society.

Proposition 2: There is a statistically significant relationship between race and class in South Africa.

The Chi-squared test of independence computed in this chapter not only showed a relationship between race and class in South Africa, but that this relationship was statistically significant. This conclusion was anticipated beforehand as a result of the likely racial inheritance of class in South Africa, as was expounded in Chapter Two.

Proposition 3: Individuals who consider themselves to be Lower Middle class or higher will have a significantly higher (internalised) LOC in comparison to those who perceive themselves to be lower class.

When comparing the mean LOC scores of each self-reported class category, there was an evident difference between the scores of the Lower Class and those from the Lower Middle Class upwards (see Figure 4.2.). That is to say that those who considered themselves to be Lower Middle Class or higher had significantly higher (internalised) LOC scores in comparison to those of the Lower Class – this result was to be expected when considering the work of Bowles and Gintis (2002), Cebi (2007), and Mossakowski (2012). Moreover, the Lower Class had LOC scores below the national average for each survey year. While the Lower Class did not necessarily express significantly External loci of control, they were relatively more externalised than those of the Lower Middle Class, Upper Middle Class, and Upper Class. Of all the classes, it was the Upper Class who demonstrated the highest LOC scores.

Proposition 4: Disparities in LOC, across race groups, will occur - a result of South Africa's particular social setting and the impact that apartheid's discriminatory policies have had on the contemporary make-up of socioeconomic classes in the country.

Just as differences in LOC were found amongst the various class categories, so too were differences in LOC across the various race groups. These disparities were found to be statistically significant for each year when an ANOVA was conducted. Compared to Whites, Coloureds and Indians, Black respondents had the lowest LOC Scores of all. Furthermore, the LOC scores of Black respondents were below the national average each year (see Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2). An explanation for these differences in perceived control concurrent with

race can be found when looking at the impact that apartheid's discriminatory policies have had: a) on the social setting of South Africa, and b) the contemporary make-up of socioeconomic classes in the country.

Proposition 5: An interaction will occur between the variables of class and race which will in turn have a significant effect on the LOC scores of South Africans.

While class and race both individually had a statistically significant effect on LOC scores in the samples, a Two-Way ANOVA determined that the interaction between the two variables also had a significant effect on these scores. This result is understandable when taking into account the relationship between race and class (see Figures 4.2. & 4.3.), LOC and class (see Figure 4.4.), and LOC and race (see Figure 4.5.).

4.6 Summary

In this Chapter, the five research objectives of this study were achieved by way of univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses of data from the 1995, 2001, and 2006 South African waves of the World Values Survey. It was determined that a relationship did indeed exist between the variables of: a) race and class, b) LOC and class, and c) LOC and race. Furthermore, these relationships were shown to be statistically significant. In addition to the aforementioned relationships, a Two-Way ANOVA exposed an interaction effect between race and class on LOC scores. The interaction between these two variables was also proven to be statistically significant. All five of the propositions set out in Chapter One were addressed and shown to be accurate.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Taking into account the vast economic inequality present in contemporary South Africa, as well as the possible psychological influences behind an individual's class identification, this study endeavoured to answer the following research question: To what extent do class and race influence locus of control in South Africa? This was accomplished by way of the five research objectives first introduced in Chapter One. The analyses executed in Chapter Four proved that there was indeed a relationship between these three variables (1995 – 2006). When measured, the relationships between class and race, LOC and race, and LOC and class were shown to be statistically significant. Moreover, it was discovered that a significant interaction effect occurred between race and class on LOC.

This final chapter begins with a brief overview of the salient theories underpinning this study, followed by a discussion of the most striking results of the data analyses performed in Chapter Four. In addition to interpretations of the results being offered, the three most noteworthy propositions within this study will be readdressed. The chapter closes with recommendations for future research.

5.2 Rotter's Locus of Control

A quick inspection of Google Scholar's citation statistics reveals that Rotter's (1966) *Generalised Expectancies for Internal versus External Control of Reinforcement* has been cited approximately 16, 621 times. It has been almost 45 years since academia was first introduced to the locus of control construct, yet the use of LOC theory appears to be as prevalent now as it was in the 1960s. While originally based in Social Learning theory, LOC has evolved to such an extent as to be germane in the fields of Medicine, Politics, Psychology and Economics. The ability of Rotter's (1966) I-E scale to be successfully appropriated by so many diverse fields has been ascribed to the precision of its definition of control:

“Internal versus external control refers to the degree to which persons expect that a reinforcement or an outcome of their behaviour is contingent on their own behaviour or personal characteristics versus the degree to which persons expect that the reinforcement or outcome is a function of

chance, luck, or fate, is under the control of powerful others, or is simply unpredictable” (Rotter, 1990: 489).

While some have found fault with the dimensionality, outcome valance, and domain specificity (Furnham & Steele, 1993: 449 – 451) of the generalised LOC, these issues have easily been overcome (as is evidenced by the prevalence of domain-specific LOC scales).

Although Rotter (1975: 60) cautions researchers against falling prey to the “good guy – bad guy” dichotomy¹¹⁸, researchers like Taylor (1989) and Seligman (1991) have provided support for the notion that an “elevated sense of control over one’s outcomes is beneficial because it protects against feelings of hopelessness or apathy” (Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2009: 993). Kunz-Ebracht, Kirschbaum and Steptoes (2004) write that greater perceived control (internalised LOC) helps to safeguard individuals against the “impact of stressors on emotional and physiological reactivity” (Infurna *et al*, 2011: 570). Contrariwise, numerous researchers assert that an externalised LOC produces and/ correlates with anxiety and higher levels of stress (Mandler & Watsons, 1966; Mandler, 1967; Ray & Katahn, 1968; Himle & Barcy, 1975; Garber & Seligman, 1980). This assertion is echoed by Neupert, Almeida and Charles (2007) who suggest that an externalised LOC is associated with an increase in emotional distress. It is due to the possible effect an individual’s LOC may have on his/ her well-being that further research into the coping mechanisms of individuals has been instigated (Brandtstadter & Baltes-Gotz, 1990).

When looking at the relationship between subjective socioeconomic status and LOC (as was done in this study), Kraus, Piff and Keltner (2009: 992 - 1002) found that those who identified with the lower social classes tended to associate with a reduced (externalised) sense of control. They ascribed this lower sense of control to the fact that “when people report that they are of lower subjective SES, they are indicating that they have fewer resources and are of subordinate rank vis-a-vis others” (Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2009: 993). In their study of disadvantaged and advantaged youth in India, Kumar and Tripathi (1986) similarly found that the ‘disadvantaged’ youth associated with greater externalised LOC than the ‘advantaged’ youth. Diminished resources and a perceived subordinate rank can thus reduce one’s

¹¹⁸ Where they assume that the characteristics of Internalisers are good while the characteristics of Externalisers are bad.

perceived personal control over life circumstances and desired outcomes (Levenson, 1981; Lachman & Weaver, 1998).

In his examination of personal control beliefs, Seeman (2008) writes that a distinction should be made between the notions of self-efficacy and perceived control. Whereas the first pertains to the “evaluation of one's ability to accomplish certain behaviours or achieve certain outcomes”, the latter refers to evaluations “about whether actions can produce a given outcome” (Seeman, 2008). It is important to keep the above distinction in mind as many studies researching locus of control often included discussions on self-efficacy.

When referring to the degree of control an individual has over his outcomes, or those of other parties, the term *agency* is usually employed (Choshen-Hillel & Yaniv, 2011: 1253). The term *social preference*, on the other hand, “is used to capture the range of decision makers’ reactions to their own and others’ outcomes” (Choshen-Hillel & Yaniv, 2011: 1253). Social cognitive theory distinguishes between three types of agency: a) *direct personal agency*, b) *proxy agency* – where one relies on others to achieve desired outcomes, and c) *collective agency* – where desired outcomes are achieved through group action (Bandura, 2002: 270). The way in which an individual behaves when faced with personal control (or lack thereof) over a situation is often exemplified in a situation of either learned helplessness¹¹⁹ or psychological reactance.

In the case of the former, the individual loses his agency due to perceived “non-contingency between the person’s actions and outcomes, the expectation that the outcome will not be contingent in the future, and passive behaviour” (Peterson, Maier & Seligman, 1995: 9). On the other hand, should a condition of psychological reactance occur, individuals become highly motivated to restore their freedom or choice, sometimes through aggression towards the individual who took their personal freedom away or by vicariously living through others (Brehm, 1966, Brehm & Brehm, 1981).

¹¹⁹ In order to provide better clarity to the behaviours of individuals who are faced with little or no control over life situations, Vatan and Lester (2008: 701) distinguish between the notions of ‘hopelessness’, ‘helplessness’ and ‘haplessness’ as follows: a) “hopelessness is a cognitive attitude in which people are not optimistic and have lost motivation about their future”, b) “helplessness is the belief that there is nothing the individuals can do to change their lives”, and c) “haplessness is the belief that one's life is in the hands of fate or luck”.

5.3 Class Locations

As has already been mentioned in Chapter Two of this study, there is yet to be a standardised and unanimously accepted conceptualisation of what class means or how to operationalise it. Additional to this lack of consensus is the concern that the notion and measurement of class alters according to the specific needs of researchers – this makes the comparative analysis of class internationally a complicated endeavour. In this particular study class has been understood as the specific socioeconomic strata individuals occupy within society. Class in this sense therefore involves the amalgamation of both social class (a prestige-based notion) and economic positioning (which is resource-based). Moreover, due to the psychological nature of the LOC construct, it is the self-reported socioeconomic class (SES) of South Africans that has been examined.

The hierarchical nature of the stratification of classes has generated a structure of inequality whereby individuals occupy different ‘inequality spaces’ that determine their access to valued goods and life chances (Morgan, 2008). The existence of ‘inequality spaces’ is analogous to the assertion of Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005: 207) that social stratification has become spacialised, a contention that could help explain the clustering of people with similar class locations into ‘neighbourhoods’, a basis for the *neighbourhood effect* in poverty traps. The occupation of divergent ‘inequality spaces’ is somewhat evocative of Bourdieu’s (1984) concept of *habitus* where class fractions are established by way of the convergence of symbolic (cultural) and objective differences between classes. Furthermore, just as “parental education and occupation, self-esteem and locus of control [can] materially affect an individual’s educational and occupational attainments” (Wang *et al*, 1999: 281), so too can an individual’s *habitus* (Rivera, 2011: 1316).

It is due to the evident spatialisation of class, and thereby spatialisation of inequality, that researchers have started to focus attention on residential locations in their analyses of class distinctions and individuals’ attitudes towards inequality. McLennan and Roberts (2013) for instance assert that “there is a need to better understand the detailed spatial patterning of inequality and how this may determine people’s experience of, or exposure to, inequality”. Moreover, the “relationship between space/locality, class and social networks” (Gray, 1999: 369) could prove to be insightful dimensions of social exclusion – a phenomenon that South Africa is quite familiar with. Low (2009: 389) asserts that by examining ‘spatialising culture’,

a derivative of spatial inequality, one is similarly able to “uncover systems of exclusion that are [otherwise] hidden or naturalised”. Naturalised spatial inequality is certainly evident in contemporary South Africa and as such Steenekamp (2011: 139) brings up the salient point that, “despite the improvement in race relations, the social lives of Black and White South Africans still rarely cross and their residential patterns remain largely segregated”.

It is important to note that social exclusion not only acts as a barrier to opportunities for certain individuals, but is believed to cause emotional distress in those who are excluded (Baumeister & Tice, 1990; Gerber & Wheeler, 2009; Kitchens & Gohm, 2010). Moreover, when manifested in the form of discrimination and marginalization, social exclusion often acts as a barricade “for ethnic and racial minorities seeking to escape poverty” (Corcoran & Nichols-Casebolt, 2004).

In their examination of individuals’ explanations for inequality, Han *et al* (2012: 22) find that a number of explanations are psychological in nature and may be the result of individual characteristics and personal attitudes. Alesina and Giuliano (2009: 2) write that: a) the “experience of misfortune may ‘make people more risk-averse, less optimistic about their future upward mobility and more inclined to equalize everybody’s income”, b) “different cultures may emphasize in different ways the relative merits of equality versus individualism”, c) “parents may ‘purposely transmit ‘distorted’ view about the reality of inequality and social mobility in order to influence their incentives (to work harder)”, and d) “the structure and organization of the family may make people more or less dependent and therefore favourable to government intervention in distributive matters”.

5.4 Research Propositions

5.4.1 Class and Race in South Africa, 1995 - 2006

Proposition 2: There is a statistically significant relationship between race and class in South Africa.

Described as a ‘developing economy’ by the World Bank (2012d), South Africa has struggled to improve the living standards of the majority of its citizens since the realisation of democracy in 1994. While equality is considered to be intrinsic to democracy (Dahl, 1989) there is widespread inequality within contemporary South Africa, a circumstance that many

attribute to the enduring legacies of apartheid¹²⁰. The racially-based social exclusion and economic discrimination that took place during apartheid has not only produced a rather interesting inequality dynamic within the country, but affected a situation whereby class can be seen as an inheritance of race. Race and class remain the most notable cleavages in South African society today.

Throughout the 11 years examined in this study, the majority of South Africans considered themselves to be below the Lower Middle Class (i.e. Lower- or Working Classes). Those who considered themselves to be either Lower Middle Class or Upper Middles Class hardly constituted more than 36% of the population collectively, and those reporting themselves as Upper Class were consistently in the minority at 1 – 3%. The above may not be unexpected in view of the fact that the South African economy is often categorised as ‘developing’, or the fact that South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world (with a Gini Coefficient of .7). One may find it similarly unsurprising that, for the most-part, the majority of all self-reported classes were constituted by the majority racial group (Blacks).

With the aforementioned in mind, it is interesting to note that in 1995 the majority (68.1%) of the self-reported Upper Class were White – a racial group that only made up 15.8% of the population at the time compared to the 73.3% Black majority. Moreover, from 2001 to 2006 the White proportion of the self-reported Upper Class remained markedly high for a relative minority racial group. These statistics are clearly symptomatic of the extent of social and economic racial discrimination that took place prior to 1994 in South Africa. The above being said, across all three of the time points examined the relative majority of Blacks reported themselves as Lower Class, Whites as Upper Middle Class, and Coloureds and Indians as Working Class.

In line with the second proposition of this study, the analyses conducted in Chapter Four confirmed that there was indeed a statistically significant relationship between class and race in South Africa (1995 – 2006). The most apparent reason for this relationship can be found in the biased legislature of apartheid – particularly those enacted in the 1950s. Public amenities, buildings and transport were segregated according to race (1953 Reservation of Separate

¹²⁰ Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Natrass appear to be two of the most prolific writers on the topic of race and inequality in South Africa. See: Seekings and Natrass, 2001; Seekings and Natrass, 2002; Seekings, 2003; Seekings and Natrass, 2005.

Amenities Act); Black students faced deprived and twisted education policies intended to uphold their roles as manual labourers and domestic workers (1953 The Bantu Education Act); segregated communities were established where non-Whites were relegated to the worst and smallest areas in South Africa, the best land being reserved for Whites (1950 Group Areas Act); the freedom of movement for Black South Africans was controlled and restricted (1952 Natives Act); and by 1959 (through the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act) efforts were being made to completely deprive Black South Africans of their South African citizenship – a comprehensive and penultimate act of segregation.

The institutionalised social exclusion that took place prior to 1994 has occasioned not only the spatialisation (and racialisation) of class in contemporary South Africa, but instigated self-reinforcing poverty traps in certain parts of the country too. In an attempt to redress the inequity of the past, the African National Congress (ANC)¹²¹ has executed and introduced a number of new programmes (e.g. the National Small Business Development Promotion Programme), strategies (e.g. the Strategic Sector Plan for Agriculture) and legislature (e.g. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 2002) focusing on transformation within the country.

For the most part, transformation has been centred on the improvement of economic and education opportunities¹²² for non-Whites and bringing the “black majority into the economic mainstream” (SouthAfrica.Info, 2013a). Arguably the most recognisable offshoot of these transformative policies is the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003 (amended in 2011). The objective of this Act was to “establish a legislative framework for the promotion of black economic empowerment; to empower the Minister to issue codes of good practice and to publish transformation charters; to establish the Black Economic Empowerment Advisory Council; and to provide for matters connected therewith” (Republic of South Africa, 2004: 2).

When looking at the results of the analyses in Chapter Four there was a discernible increase, however slight, in the percentage of Blacks in the Upper- and Upper Middle Classes from 1995 to 2006. This is likely attributable to the efforts of the government to rectify past

¹²¹ The ruling party in South Africa since the first democratic elections took place in 1994.

¹²² Poor education is seen as a significant source of economic inequality in South Africa.

economic inequalities. That being said, inequality is still a serious issue in South Africa and massive upward social mobility is still needed – particularly for the majority race group.

5.4.2 Locus of Control in South Africa, 1995 – 2006

Proposition 1: The average LOC score of South Africans has increased (become more internalised) from 1995 to 2006 – an upshot of the continued entrenchment of democratic principles and practices in the country.

As was anticipated in the first proposition of this study: the average LOC of South Africans has steadily increased (become *more internalised*) from 1995 to 2006. This steady progression is most likely attributable to the extension of democratic freedoms and rights to all South Africans since 1994¹²³. It was nonetheless interesting to discover that the average LOC of respondents was never significantly externalised, despite: a) the widespread inequality in the country, and b) the fact that the majority of South Africans were Lower Class. In fact South Africans in general expressed fairly internalised LOC from the very first time point examined (1995) onwards. That is to say that on average, South Africans tended to feel that they did indeed have a ‘choice’ or ‘control’ over the outcomes in their lives. Stocks, April and Lynton (2012: 18, 22) suggest that the relatively internalised LOC of South Africans may be a consequence of individualist cultures – individualism being a social pattern highly correlated with primary control.

Of all five self-reported classes, it was the Lower Class and Working Class who showed the greatest increase in LOC from 1995 to 2006. This trend may have potentially been affected by social welfare benefits within South Africa, an interpretation that will be discussed further on in this chapter. The above being said, the lowest LOC (most externalised) was demonstrated by the Lower Class with the highest LOC (most internalised) expressed by the Upper- and Upper Middle Classes – this is in line with most theories on LOC and self-reported socioeconomic status (Battle & Rotter, 1963; Lefcourt, 1982; Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2009).

When it comes to the average LOC of the four race groups in South Africa, Blacks consistently registered at the lower end of the scale relative to Whites, Coloureds, and

¹²³ Other possible explanations are addressed further on in this chapter.

Indians. This result was nevertheless to be expected when taking into account the oppressive legislature that was in effect prior to 1994 that institutionalised racial discrimination, thereby rendering the Black majority with very little agency in what was for all intents and purposes a helpless situation of social exclusion (Vatan & Lester, 2008: 701).

5.4.3 Class, Race and Locus of Control in South Africa, 1995 – 2006

Proposition 5: An interaction will occur between the variables of class and race which will in turn have a significant effect on the LOC scores of South Africans.

The fifth and final proposition of this study asserted that an interaction would occur between the variables of class and race which would in turn have a significant effect on the LOC scores of South Africans. This was proven to be yet another accurate estimation and certainly did not come as a surprise, especially when taking into account: a) the significant relationships that were found between race and class on LOC individually, and b) the fact that class and race were shown to have a statistically significant relationship with each other.

5.5 Further Interpretations

5.5.1 Education and LOC

The link between education and LOC is longstanding and of keen interest to a number of researchers, as has been illustrated by the volume of studies dedicated to the relationship between these two subjects (Kohn, 1969; Wang *et al*, 1999; Ross & Broh, 2000; Flouri, 2006). Most of these studies report that an internalised LOC is associated with higher educational attainment¹²⁴ (Lefcourt, 1982; Keith, Pottebaum, & Eberhart, 1986; Kirkpatrick *et al*, 2008). While LOC is seen as a possible determinant of educational achievement, so too is a person's education level perceived as a possible antecedent of LOC. In his study of *Impulsivity, Locus of Control and Education*, Wiehe (1987: 1274) reported that individuals with "more than a high school education were more internally orientated than their peers". That is to say they had relatively more internalised LOC than those who had a high school education or less. Cebi (2007) reached the same conclusion in his study, namely: those who finish high school have higher (more internal) LOC than those who do not. Lefcourt (1982)

¹²⁴ This notion is not without its critique however. Cebi (2007) for example writes that LOC is not a significant determinant of educational attainment.

similarly wrote about the relationship between an individual's level of education and his/ her LOC – noting that as education increased, so did LOC.

With the aforementioned association in mind, a possible explanation for the slight, yet steady, increase in LOC in South Africa between 1995 and 2006 may be found in the education levels of South Africans. Prior to 1994, the schooling system in South Africa was one in which many were denied access to learning on the basis of their race. Since 1994 much transformation has been required in order to restore equity to the schooling system and improve access to education in the newly democratic country. Moreover, “fundamental reforms to the administration, governance and funding of education” (Van der Berg *et al*, 2011b: 1) in South Africa was needed.

The “right of every person to basic education and to equal access to education institutions” was recognised in the *White Paper on Education and Training* of 1995 (Statistics South Africa, 2001: 5). As of 1996, all South Africans have enjoyed the constitutional right to: a) “a basic education, including adult basic education”, and b) “further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible” (Republic of South Africa, 1996: 1257). It should be noted that basic education¹²⁵ in South Africa is comprised of two levels: General Education and Training (GET) and Further Education and Training (FET). The GET level is comprised of Grades R to 9, while the FET level covers Grades 10 to 12. In the final year of high school (Grade 12), students are required to pass the Senior Certificate Examinations (SCE) in order to graduate.

In an effort to buttress the aforementioned constitutional rights, the South African Schools Act of 1996 ensured that education in South Africa was made compulsory for all South Africans from the age of seven to fifteen (SouthAfrica.Info, 2013b). This meant that it was obligatory for students to attend school up to Grade 9, thereby completing at least the GET level in education. Moreover, van der Berg *et al* (2011b: 1) write that, since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, “public spending on education has gone from being highly unequal on the basis of race under apartheid to being well targeted towards poor children”.

¹²⁵ The Department of Basic Education is charged with the administration of all 13 levels of the South African school system: from Grade R to Grade 12 (Matric).

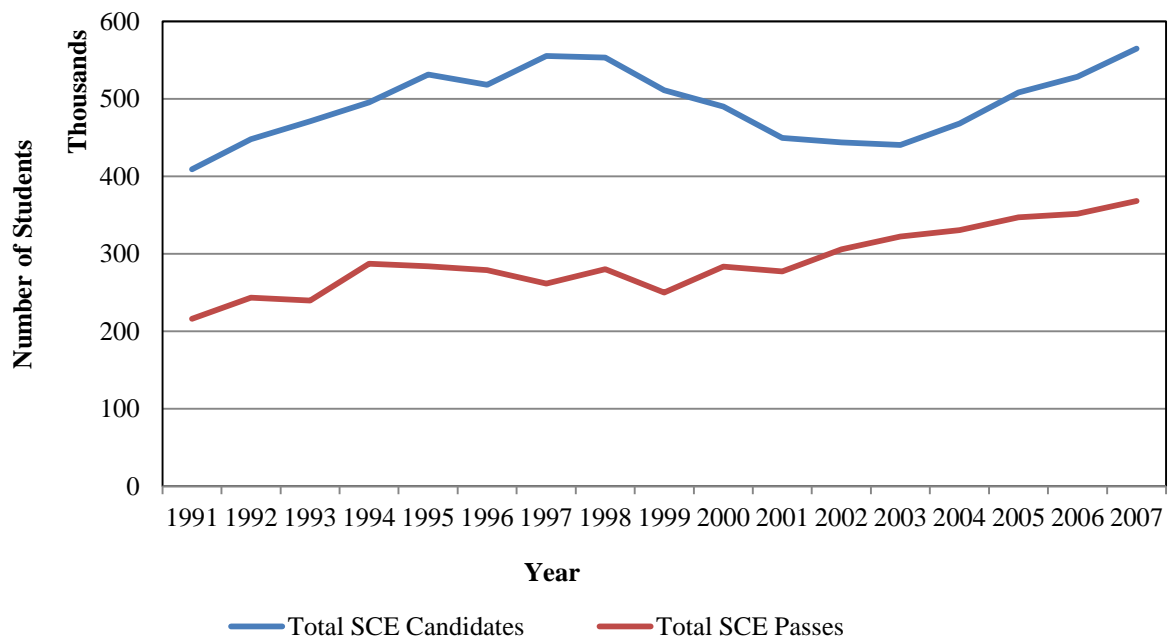
While access to education has certainly improved, the quality and output of this education has been branded by many as wanting (The Economist, 2012b; Modisaotsile, 2012; Rademeyer, 2013)¹²⁶. Moreover, an *EFA Global Monitoring Report* (EFA, 2010: 135) asserts that while legalised barriers to education opportunities ended along with apartheid, “informal discrimination is widespread [as it] is embedded in social, economic and political processes that restrict life chances for some groups and individuals”.

When it comes to determinants of LOC though, it is the level of education rather than the quality of education that appears to be significant¹²⁷. Thus, regardless of the issues surrounding the standard (or quality) of schooling in South Africa, the country has at least experienced an increase¹²⁸ in the number of high school graduates over the years (see Figure 5.1.) which parallels the increase in LOC of South Africans within this study. The increased educational output at the Senior Certificate level in South Africa may account for the gradual increase in LOC for South Africans between 1995 and 2006.

¹²⁶ The number of school enrolments acts as one measure for the improved access to education. For instance, the gross enrolment of students at secondary (high school) level in South Africa was 84 for 1995, 84 for 2001, and 91 for 2006 (Kane-Berman, 2010: 388)

¹²⁷ It must be noted however that levels of education may not be standardised across every grade of every school in South Africa and may indeed have some role to play in a person's LOC. This is certainly true where one finds disparate notions of control and capacity being transferred to pupils from schools that are either affluent or poor (see: Kohn, 1969).

¹²⁸ There was a 12.4% increase measured in the number of matriculants from 1991 to 2007 in South Africa.

Figure 5.1. Number of SCE Candidates and Passes in South Africa, 1991 - 2007¹²⁹

Data source: DBE (2008)

5.5.2 Social Security and LOC

Occasionally referred to as *social assistance*, social grants are recognised as “non-contributory cash transfer programmes, targeted at people who are poor or vulnerable” (Grosh *et al*, 2008). It is by way of this financial assistance from the government (in the form of social grants) that a social ‘safety net’ for the disadvantaged and vulnerable¹³⁰ is established.

Social security is considered by many to be a means of ameliorating poverty and promoting transformation in a country (Neves *et al*, 2009: 3). This certainly appears to have been the case in South Africa, where social assistance has been shown to successfully limit the growth of poverty (Samson *et al*, 2004; Van der Berg, 2010). The provision of social grants in South Africa is likewise thought to reduce the *depth* of poverty (ODI, 2011), and in so doing improve the well-being of the poor. Claims of reducing poverty through social grants appear

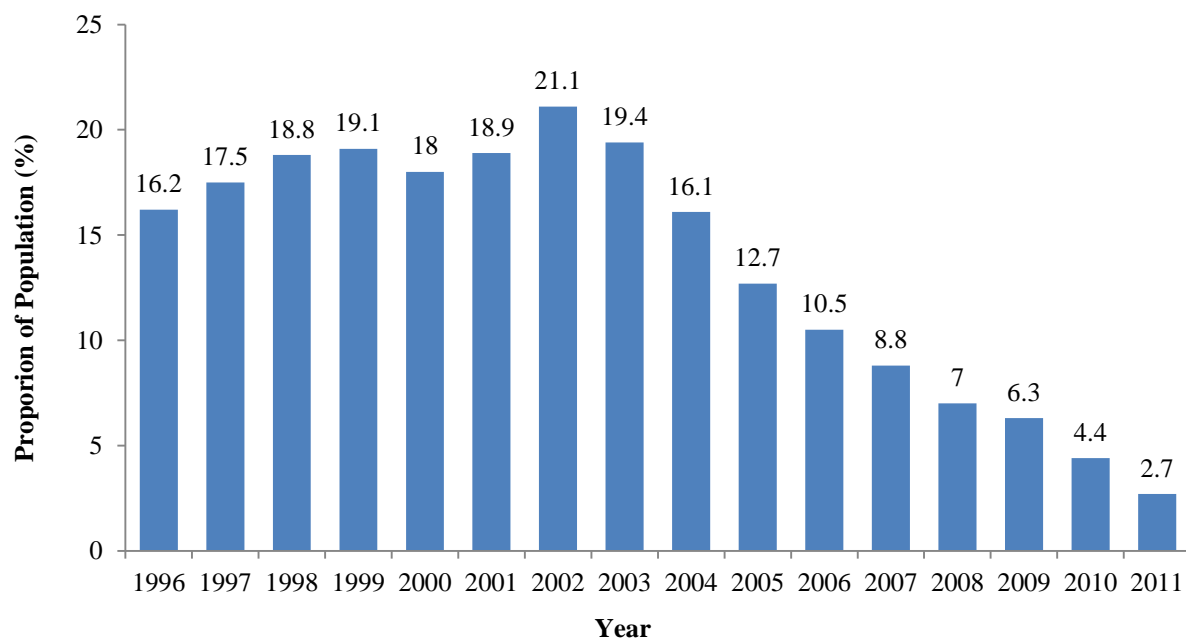
¹²⁹ For actual numbers, see Appendix D.

¹³⁰ In *Social profile of vulnerable groups in South Africa* (2012), Statistics South Africa considered the following groups to be particularly vulnerable: children (individuals under the age of 18), youth (15 to 34 years), women, and older persons (individuals older than 60 years).

to be validated, at least to some extent, when looking at the decrease in the proportion of South Africans living on less than \$2 a day (an internationally recognised poverty line). Despite hitting a pinnacle of 21.1% in 2002, there has been an overall 13.5% decrease in the percentage of individuals living below the ‘less than \$2 a day’ poverty line from 1996 to 2011 (see Figure 5.2.). It could be argued that, had income figures been calculated without including grant incomes, many who are now living (scarcely) above the poverty line would subsequently fall below it.

Neves *et al* (2009: 3 – 4) argue that social assistance has additional positive outcomes in South Africa, namely: it “facilitates investments in human capital”, “enables recipients to leverage and multiply their resources” - thereby generating economic benefits, “empowers otherwise marginalised household members” in a social context - such as the elderly and disabled, it serves as an “effective redistributive mechanism” - a particularly salient issue in South Africa, and acts as “a symbolically important part of the renewed social compact between citizens and state”. Social security is also thought to make a “fundamental difference to the sense of citizenship experienced by poor people” (Shepherd, Marcus & Barrientos, 2004: 5).

Figure 5.2. Proportion of population living on less than \$2 a day in South Africa, 1996 - 2011



Data source: Kane-Berman (2012)

While many do indeed recognise the role of social security in amending multi-level deprivation and poverty reduction (Woolard, 2003; Shepherd, Marcus, & Barrientos, 2004), there are also those who view the social welfare system with a “degree of scepticism” (Williams, 2007: 5). Most of this cynicism seems to be based on the issue of welfare dependency¹³¹, perverse incentives and corruption within the South African social security system (Bane & Ellwood, 1994; Steele, 2006). Furthermore, the outcomes of social security are not universally positive for those on the receiving end of assistance. Goodban (1985: 404) writes that those who rely on welfare often find their dependency stigmatising. However, “dependency resulting from physical or mental disability is [considered to be] less stigmatising than dependency that is perceived to result from personal failure” (Goodban, 1985: 403). This distinction calls to mind the notion of LOC in that it encompasses perceptions of personal control vis-à-vis reliance on social assistance.

Tasked with reducing poverty and promoting social integration, the Department of Social Development¹³² aims to “engender self-reliance by creating conditions for sustainable livelihoods” (DSD, 2013) in South Africa. As such, this department offers the following major social grants to both South African citizens and permanent residents of the country: 1) Old Age Grant, 2) War Veterans Grant, 3) Disability Grant, 4) Foster Care Grant, 5) Care-Dependency Grant, and 6) Child Support Grant. In order to qualify for one of the above grants¹³³, an individual must meet the following requirements:

¹³¹ “The supposed tendency of beneficiaries accessing grants not to take part in the formal or informal labour market and therefore creating a culture of economic dependency” (Steele, 2006).

¹³² The Department of Social Development was formerly known as the Department of Welfare. It was renamed in 2000.

¹³³ The impressive scope of grants on offer in South Africa renders the country’s social security system as “unique among developing countries” (Williams, 2007: 9) and is “unprecedented in Africa”(ODI, 2011: 5).

Table 5.1. Qualifying Requirements for Social Grants in South Africa

Type of Grant	Significant Legislature	Requirements
Old Age Grant	Section 10 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: 60 years or older, does not receive any other social grant, and is not cared for in a State Institution.
War Veterans Grant	Section 11 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: 60 years or older (or disabled), does not receive any other social grant, is not cared for in a State Institution, and fought in the Second World War or the Korean War.
Disability Grant	Section 9 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: 18 to 59 years (female) or 18 to 62 years (male), does not receive any other social grant, is not cared for in a State Institution, and “has been disabled for six months or longer and is unable to obtain employment or to support themselves as a result” (Kane-Berman, 2012: 583).
Foster Care Grant	Section 8 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: a foster parent of a child “who has been placed in their custody in terms of the Child Care Act of 1983” (Kane-Berman, 2012: 583). The child must be a resident in South Africa.
Care Dependency Grant	Section 7 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: the “parent or foster parent of a care-dependent child between the ages of one and 18 years, who, owing to severe mental and/or physical disability, needs full-time care” (Kane-Berman, 2012: 583).

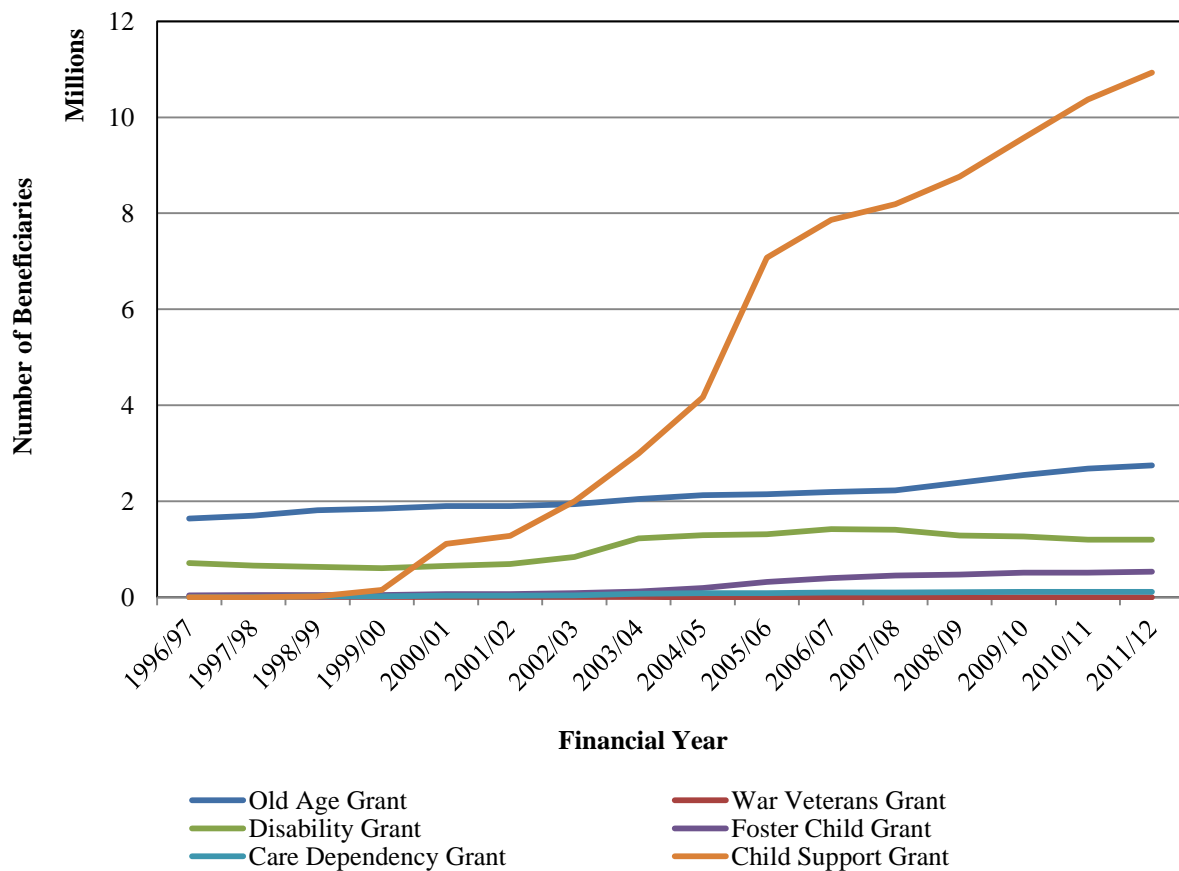
Child Support Grant	Section 6 of the Social Assistance Act of 2004 (No 13 of 2004).	Payable to a South African Citizen/ permanent resident who is: the “primary caregiver of a child or children below the age of 18 years. To qualify, a single caregiver should not earn more than R2 600 a month. A married person’s joint income with his/her spouse should not exceed R5 200 a month” (Kane-Berman, 2012: 583).
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* Source: Kane-Berman (2012: 583) and SASSA (2011a & 2013).

Prior to 1994 the welfare system of South Africa was heavily prejudiced towards Whites. In 1970 for example, the OAG for a White was approximately seven times the value than that for a Black (ODI, 2011: 6). Racially differentiated benefit levels for grants continued up until the late 1970s, after which efforts were made by the government to improve the coverage of grants. All discriminatory provisions for social grants in South Africa were finally removed via the 1992 Social Assistance Act (Van der Berg, 2010). It is as a consequence of this racial disparity that Neves *et al* (2007) argue that “in the post-apartheid period, social protection has had to accommodate deep and widespread African¹³⁴ poverty, underpinned by enduring structural factors and the inequality of the South African distributional regime”.

While a significant goal of the post-1994 government was to equalise the welfare system of South Africa, “the levels of benefits previously provided to the white minority were such that they could not be universalised in a fiscally sustainable manner” (ODI, 2006: 2). Instead, the ANC had to make do with decreasing the benefit levels of Whites and increasing the overall coverage and scope of social grants. In 1998, the government started to improve the scope of its grants through the introduction of the Child Support Grant. Improvement in the coverage of social assistance is exemplified by the increased number of recipients of social grants in South Africa from 1996 to 2012 (see Figure 5.3. below). The number of social grant beneficiaries has increased nearly six fold within the above time period, the most dramatic increase being measured in the number of CSG recipients.

¹³⁴ In this sense, African is synonymous with Black.

Figure 5.3. Number of Grant Recipients by Grant Type in South Africa, 1996 – 2012¹³⁵

Data source: SASSA (2009, 2011b & 2012)

Increased life satisfaction and well-being have been known to correspond with increased LOC (Lachman, Rosnick, & Röcke, 2009). In other words, an improvement in these two factors is analogous to a more internalised LOC. An upshot of the poor in South Africa (who typically have relatively low LOC) receiving social grants is that they are arguably given more control over their lives, in addition to reducing the depth of their poverty. This subsequently leads to greater life satisfaction and an increased LOC. Moreover, whereas a *dependency* on social assistance may make one intuitively think that social grants augment externalised control; this social security instead empowers the poor and vulnerable to such an extent as to increase their LOC. Thus, the relatively large increase in the LOC of the self-reported Lower Class and Working Class in South Africa (1995 and 2006) may be attributable to members of these particular classes benefitting from social grant incomes.

¹³⁵ For actual numbers, please refer to Appendix E.

5.6 Recommendations for Future Research

This study has created new avenues for social mobility and class identification research within South Africa by way of Rotter's (1966) locus of control construct. While the potential influence of LOC on social mobility itself was not addressed, this particular psychological construct was revealed to have a significant relationship with class in the country. This relationship alone may provide impetus for new research endeavours on the psychological antecedents of class identification.

Due to the reliance on secondary data analysis within this study, there was a fissure in terms of the measurement options for the LOC variable. This study was limited to the use of one (generalised) scale variable to measure LOC. Should a researcher be in the position where he/ she is able to create his/ her own questionnaires, it may be possible to include questions that gauge viewpoints on the role of hard work, self-efficacy, powerful others, and fate on outcomes in life. These auxiliary variables could be used to construct an index through which LOC could be more comprehensively operationalized. A more comprehensive measurement of LOC may then in turn improve the dimensionality and domain specificity of the entire Internal-External continuum used in the researcher's studies.

The inability to control the type of questions asked, repeated, or removed within the World Values Survey data sets meant that a number of potentially insightful variables were not included in this study's analyses. The removal and addition of questions has a particularly significant impact on the research that can be undertaken in a longitudinal study. It is suggested that a forthcoming research output could entail an analysis of the relationship between LOC and social mobility. Does an external LOC inhibit upward social mobility? Does an internal LOC augment upward social mobility? These are salient questions that could be answered in the future. Moreover, in answering the aforementioned questions one may well discover new ways to stimulate social mobility – the advent of which would result in new and insightful policy recommendations.

Should any of the abovementioned recommendations come to fruition, a further potential research output would entail the measurement of the causal directionality between class and LOC. This would provide invaluable insight into the true nature of the relationship between class and LOC. Due to the scope of this study, only race was controlled for. Future research

however may be able to look at the role sex, location or religiosity may play on an individual's LOC and self-reported class.

Finally, it would be interesting to see the analyses conducted in this study continued over the years to come, most notably in order to: a) see if LOC continues to become more internalised in South Africa as democracy becomes more entrenched, and b) to examine the extent to which class and race continue to influence LOC.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Rotter's (1996) LOC Questionnaire

For each question select the statement that you agree with the most

1	a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much. b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.
2	a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck. b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
3	a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics. b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
4	a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries
5	a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense. b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
6	a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader. b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
7	a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you. b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
8	a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.
9	a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen. b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
10	a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test. b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying in

	really useless.
11	a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it. b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
12	a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions. b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
13	a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work. b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to- be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
14	a. There are certain people who are just no good. b. There is some good in everybody.
15	a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck. b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
16	a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first. b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability. Luck has little or nothing to do with it.
17	a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control. b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
18	a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings. b. There really is no such thing as "luck."
19	a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes. b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.
20	a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you. b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.
21	a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones. b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22	a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption. b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.
23	a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give. b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
24	a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do. b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
25	a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me. b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
26	a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly. b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.
27	a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school. b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.
28	a. What happens to me is my own doing. b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
29	a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do. b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

*Table constructed from Rotter (1966).

Appendix B: Furnham's Economic LOC Questionnaire

Please read the following statements and state whether you: 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree, 3) slightly disagree, 4) undecided, 5) slightly agree, 6) agree, or 7) strongly agree.

1	Becoming rich has little or nothing to do with chance.
2	Saving and careful investing is a key factor in becoming rich.
3	Whether or not I become wealthy depends mostly on my ability.
4	Accountants can rarely do very much for people who are poor.
5	Anyone can learn a few basic economic principles that can go a long way in preventing poverty.
6	To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.
7	People's poverty results from their own idleness.
8	Social workers relieve or cure only a few of the financial problems their clients have.
9	I feel that my finances are mostly determined by powerful people.
10	There is little one can do to prevent poverty.
11	No matter what anyone does, there will always be poverty.
12	When I make plans I am almost certain to make them work.
13	Whether or not people get rich is often a matter of chance.
14	People who never become poor are just plain lucky.
15	There is no chance of protecting my savings from bad luck happenings.
16	The seriousness of poverty is overstated.
17	When it comes to wealth, there is no such thing as 'bad luck'.
18	When I get what I want, it is usually because I am lucky.
19	In the long run, people who take care of their finances stay wealthy.
20	Relief from poverty requires good hard work more than anything else.
21	Although I might have the ability, I will not become better off without appealing to those in positions of power.
22	In the Western world there is no such thing as poverty.
23	Becoming rich has nothing to do with luck.
24	How many friends I have depends on how generous I am.
25	Most people are helped a great deal when they go to an accountant.

26	There are a lot of financial problems that can be very serious indeed.
27	People like myself have little chance in protecting our personal interests when they are in conflict with those of strong pressure groups.
28	Regarding money, there isn't much you can do for yourself when you are poor.
29	Politicians can do very little to prevent poverty.
30	It's not always wise for me to save because many things turn out to be a matter of good fortune or bad fortune.
31	If I become poor, it is usually my own fault.
32	Financial security is largely a matter of good fortune.
33	Getting what I want financially requires pleasing those people above me.
34	Whether or not I get to be well-off depends on whether I am lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.
35	I can pretty much determine what will happen to me financially.
36	I am usually able to protect my personal interests.
37	When I get what I want, it is usually because I worked hard for it.
38	My life is determined by my own actions.
39	It is chiefly a matter of fate whether I become rich or poor.
40	Only those who inherit or win money can possibly become rich.

*Table constructed from Van Daalen, van Niekerk & Pottas (1989).

Appendix C: Two-Way ANOVA Outputs

Two-way ANOVA output, 1995

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Locus of Control

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	11251.538 ^a	19	592.186	97.853	.000
Intercept	74354.472	1	74354.472	12286.335	.000
Class	607.424	4	151.856	25.093	.000
Race	350.064	3	116.688	19.282	.000
Class * Race	585.058	12	48.755	8.056	.000
Error	132958.096	21970	6.052		
Total	1026595.000	21990			
Corrected Total	144209.634	21989			

a. R Squared = .078 (Adjusted R Squared = .077)

Two-way ANOVA output, 2001

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Locus of Control

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	17201.709 ^a	19	905.353	139.665	.000
Intercept	122515.230	1	122515.230	18899.916	.000
Class	1843.549	4	460.887	71.099	.000
Race	770.945	3	256.982	39.643	.000
Class * Race	2882.903	12	240.242	37.061	.000
Error	96839.318	14939	6.482		
Total	751276.000	14959			
Corrected Total	114041.027	14958			

a. R Squared = .151 (Adjusted R Squared = .150)

Two-way ANOVA output, 2006

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Locus of Control

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	4680.727 ^a	19	246.354	51.050	.000
Intercept	90453.104	1	90453.104	18743.930	.000
Class	567.294	4	141.823	29.389	.000
Race	125.947	3	41.982	8.700	.000
Class * Race	448.090	12	37.341	7.738	.000
Error	121738.633	25227	4.826		
Total	1587892.000	25247			
Corrected Total	126419.360	25246			

a. R Squared = .037 (Adjusted R Squared = .036)

Appendix D: Number of SCE Candidates and Passes in South Africa, 1991 - 2007

	Total SCE Candidates	Total SCE Passes	Total Pass (%)
1991	409076	216147	52.8
1992	447904	243611	54.4
1993	470948	239556	50.9
1994	495408	287343	58.0
1995	531453	283742	53.4
1996	518032	278958	53.8
1997	555267	261399	47.1
1998	553151	279986	50.6
1999	511159	249831	48.9
2000	489941	283294	57.8
2001	449371	277206	61.7
2002	443821	305774	68.9
2003	440267	322492	73.2
2004	467985	330717	70.7
2005	508363	347184	68.3
2006	528525	351503	66.5
2007	564775	368217	65.2

*Data source: DBE (2008)

Appendix E: Number of Grant Recipients by Grant Type, 1996 - 2012

	Old Age Grant	War Veterans Grant	Disability Grant	Foster Child Grant	Care Dependency Grant	Child Support Grant
1996/97	1637934	13473	711629	42999	2707	0
1997/98	1697725	10525	660528	43520	8172	0
1998/99	1812685	9197	633778	46496	16835	21997
1999/00	1848726	7908	607537	49843	22789	150366
2000/01	1900406	5617	655822	66967	33574	1111612
2001/02	1903042	5336	694232	67817	34978	1277396
2002/03	1943348	4638	840424	83574	42355	1998936
2003/04	2050572	3996	1228231	120571	76494	2996723
2004/05	2124984	2963	1293280	195454	86917	4165545
2005/06	2146344	2817	1315143	317434	90112	7075266
2006/07	2195018	2340	1422808	400503	98631	7863841
2007/08	2229550	1924	1408456	454199	102292	8189975
2008/09	2390543	1500	1286883	474759	107065	8765354
2009/10	2546657	1216	1264477	510760	110731	9570287
2010/11	2678554	958	1200898	512874	112185	10371950
2011/12	2750857	753	1198131	536747	114993	10927731

*Data Source: SASSA (2009, 2011 & 2012)